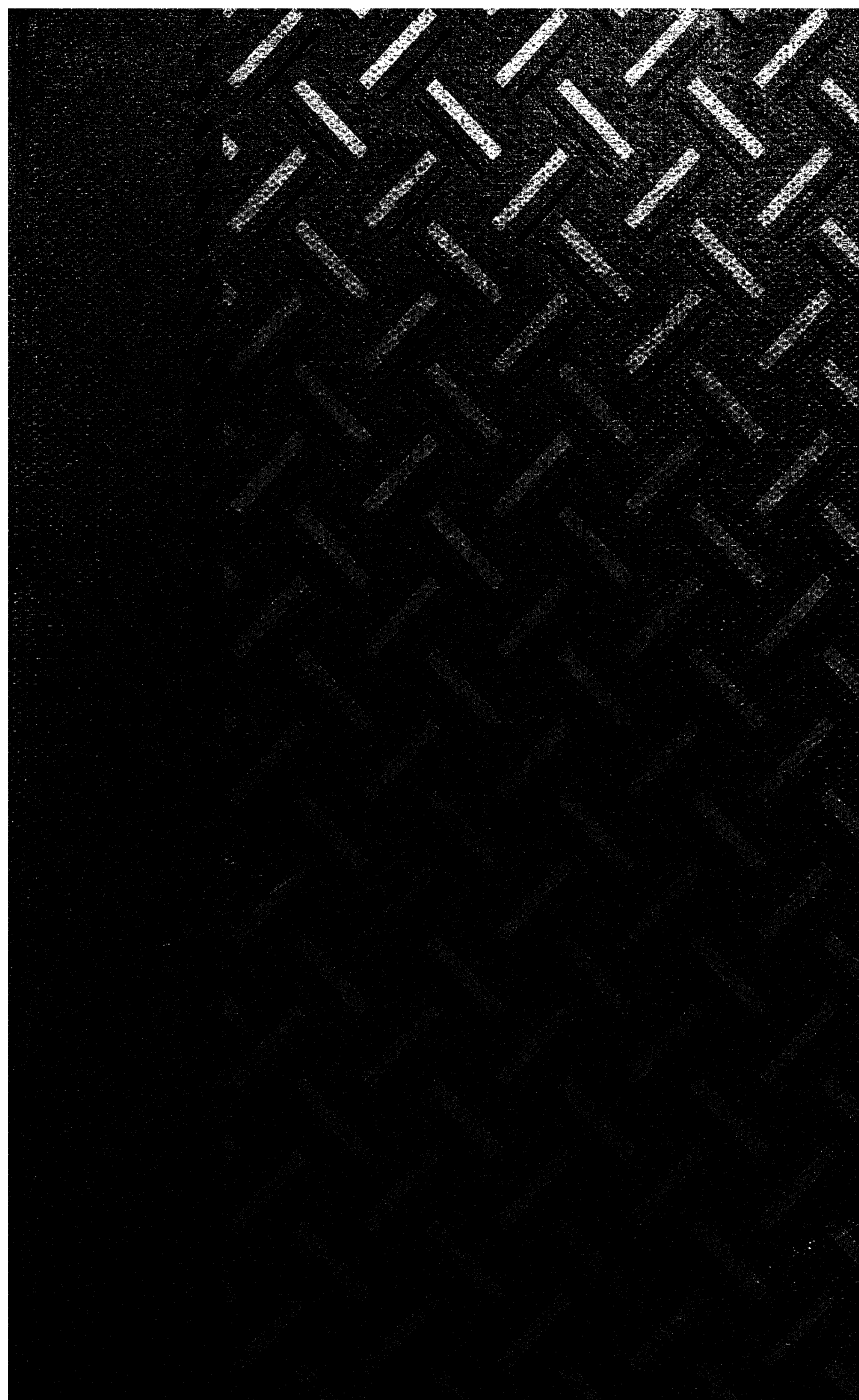


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SLANTED NEWS

*A Case Study of the Nixon and Stevenson
Fund Stories*

by ARTHUR EDWARD ROWSE

with a foreword by Erwin D. Canham

BEACON PRESS *Beacon Hill* Boston

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FOREWORD

By Erwin D. Canham

Editor *The Christian Science Monitor*

This book, it seems to me, has been written in just the right way. It was not produced with the aid of a handsome subsidy from a wealthy national foundation.

It was not compiled by a theorist, however wise, on a journalism faculty, or by a group of research-dedicated graduate students.

A copy reader on a Boston afternoon newspaper (not the *Monitor*) simply sat down and wrote it. In his spare time, with the aid of his brains, his typewriter, postage stamps, cameras, and various public libraries, he has brought together and interpreted the way in which 31 American newspapers, including 27 per cent of the nation's total daily circulation, handled the story of Vice President Nixon's fund when it broke during the 1952 campaign.

I do not agree with all of Mr. Rowse's interpretations. The managing editor of every newspaper which shows up badly in this survey would probably have something in extenuation to say. Many of their comments might have operational validity.

For, as Mr. Rowse carefully points out, the measurement of bias in the writing and handling of news and opinion is a very difficult matter, and nobody has found a satisfactory yardstick. There may well be circumstances which would lessen the severity of the case against many of the newspapers which seem to stand convicted by Mr. Rowse's survey.

Let me point out one or two respects in which it seems to me he goes too far—or, at least, goes onto debatable ground. He objects to the use of front-page editorial cartoons. He thinks the first page should be reserved for news alone. He has a point there. But in the face of the declining impact of editorial pages—surely an undesirable situation—can we be too severe with editors who move the most graphic part of their editorial page to page one? Why does the paper's opinion necessarily have to be "buried" inside the paper? (I use the word "buried" a little mischievously. It is the word Mr. Rowse and others use to describe news that hasn't made page one.) Does any reader think a page one cartoon is anything but an expression of the paper's opinion? I know of no concept of newspaper ethics which says opinion cannot be on page one so long as it is plainly identifiable as opinion. And a cartoon is identified by its very nature.

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Mr. Rowse also objects to the use on page one of editorials and of special publisher's or editor's articles, at least unless they are plainly labeled as something very different from news. It seems to me that the typographical manner in which such copy is habitually presented sets it off sufficiently from news, and that he is too critical when he appears to question the legitimacy of such articles on the front page.

But these are only details. My other reservations are also merely on matters of detail and of degree. Put them all together, and include benefits of the doubt to newspapers on all matters such as the availability of newsy pictures and stories on both sides of the campaign, and his survey still makes a devastating case against many newspapers. For instance, how can anybody defend not putting the Nixon story on page one until three days after it broke, or not covering it at all until two days after it broke?

Perhaps, in an utterly judicial spirit, we ought to wait to see what the indicted newspapers have to say in their own defense. It is, of course, no defense to say that "people still buy our paper, and they are the ultimate judges." The fact is that often the people have no choice if they are to have any newspaper at all, and they may object strenuously to its news practices though they still buy it.

Nor is it impressive when editors or publishers say that such surveys are "snooping" or "tommyrot." Mr. Rowse's survey is neither. Some such surveys could be. For instance, the survey proposed for 1956—which I supported—would have placed outside observers within the news rooms of American newspapers to check up on what happened. That would have been "snooping," and it wasn't a very good way to find out why newspapers did what they did. But its intent was to discover their legitimate news practices day by day and hour by hour, not to spy on them.

It is a very healthy thing this book has been written. Newspapers need criticism even more than other elements in the civic scene. They need the treatment they mete out to others, and they don't often get it on a thoroughly professional basis. Criticism can help to improve performance. It can tone up our muscles and our judgment and our conscience. Particularly when direct newspaper competition has diminished in so many areas, criticism becomes indispensable to good health and good service.

And so the newspapers surveyed by Mr. Rowse owe him a real debt of gratitude. Even if he has overstated or misstated through an unawareness of some relevant fact that may later be brought out, he has still done them a service in spurring them to check up on

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what they did. (I have asked Mr. Rowse to survey the *Christian Science Monitor's* performance in 1952, just as he did the other newspapers. His survey, which I have not yet seen, appears on page 134. If I have any comment to make on his comment, I'll do it later, as other editors of surveyed newspapers must do.)

I believe newspaper performance in the 1956 campaign was better than in 1952, but this is only an impression. Perhaps Mr. Rowse, or a lot of Rowses, will do a job on the 1956 campaign. American newspapers must live up to and fulfill their high professions of news objectivity. And, somehow or other, their job must be critically analyzed. Through such rigorous self-examination, newspapers can become and remain worthy of their urgent responsibilities.

PREFACE

Discussing newspaper objectivity—and thereby implying that it needs discussing—is a risky undertaking for anyone, especially a newspaperman. Not many have attempted it. And those who have done so have usually become targets for journalistic abuse. Doubting a newspaper's objectivity has become almost as risky as doubting a woman's virtue. Emotions take over and calm discussion goes out the window.

Despite the strong feelings, however, something is accomplished in every discussion of newspaper fairness. At least the subject gets attention, which it badly needs. Debating the problem is one of the most effective ways to make newspapers more conscious of the ways to improve and thus reduce the subject of debate.

Newspapers in general have become fairer over the years in their presentation of the news. A glance at the highly partisan journals of a century—or even half a century—ago clearly shows this. A detailed analysis by Robert Batlin of San Francisco newspapers in the 1896 and 1952 presidential campaigns revealed there was much less bias in 1952.

Regardless of this improvement, however, American newspapers seem to face stronger criticism with each election campaign. Dissatisfaction with the press appeared to reach a peak in 1952. But through all the shouting and hair-pulling, the big question remains: Does the press do as well as it could in handling political news?

This is not simply a question for newspapermen and their critics; it is a question for all Americans. But it is the newspaperman who is best qualified to find the answer. Speaking of the charge of bias in 1952, editor Barry Bingham of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* said: "If the press failed in that way, it would be far better for us to expose the failure ourselves and try to avoid it in the future than for the public to expose it and leave the press to a huffy defense of its virtue."

No claim is made here that newspapermen—or authors of books on bias—can be free from bias. No one is free from bias, especially when discussing bias.

If newspapermen fail at times to live up to their high standards, it is partly because the newspaper is such a peculiar animal. It is a sort of public utility and private business all in one. It tries to give the public all the news it deserves, and yet not enough to make it un-

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profitable and make the paper go out of business. Striking a balance between these often-conflicting forces is a superhuman job. It takes a combination of talent that is rarely, if ever, found in one place.

This book is not intended to be any sort of "last word" on newspaper bias. It is hardly more than a first word in a relatively uncharted field of study.

Before acknowledging help from others in the preparation of this book, it is necessary to mention some of the obstacles encountered along the way. They should be reported because they form part of the picture of newspaper conduct and because they imposed certain limitations on this study.

Roadblocks were thrown up by some newspapers. A few papers appeared reluctant to allow any review of their printed past even though it is a matter of public record. They became suspicious of a request for permission to photograph pages on file in libraries, apparently because they feared criticism.

Some papers apparently use their copyright to guard themselves from criticism that they are not against directing toward others. These papers, however, were exceptions. Most papers were quite willing to allow pages to be reproduced here.

On the credit side of the picture, I am indebted first of all to Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, for writing the foreword, and to Louis M. Lyons, curator of the Nieman Foundation of Harvard University, for his advice and inspiration in several discussions and in his broadcasts and writings. I am indebted also to Francis T. Leahy for legal advice and friendly interest in my work over the years.

Others to whom I owe sincere thanks include Ralph M. Blagden, associate editor of the Sacramento (Calif.) *Bee*; Douglass Cater, Washington editor of the *Reporter* magazine; David M. White, professor of journalism at Boston University; Eliot Spalding, editor of the Cambridge (Mass.) *Chronicle-Sun*; J. Russell Wiggins, managing editor of the *Washington Post and Times Herald*; and Harwood L. Childs, professor of politics, Princeton University. Special thanks are due to Robert Morgan, Vic Jones, and Robert Moore of the *Boston Globe* and Paul Williams, John Thompson, George Donnelly, and Managing Editor Hal Clancy of the *Boston Traveler*. Needless to say, none of these persons should be held responsible in any way for conclusions in this book.

Perhaps the greatest single aid to this project was *Editor & Publisher* magazine, the weekly "bible" of the newspaper industry. It is unrivaled as a chronicler of newspaper affairs and is one of the most

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influential and constructive forces at work in the newspaper world. It is the source of all information in this book on newspaper circulation, political designation, chain affiliation, and wire services.

A. E. R.

I. WHAT IS NEWSPAPER BIAS?

Thursday, the 18th of September, 1952, started out as a normal day in a presidential campaign in the United States.

The Republican nominee, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, was reported by the *New York Times* to be rolling across the Midwest quoting the Scriptures and calling for an "honest deal." The Democratic candidate, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, was traveling through Connecticut proclaiming his preference for "ethics in politics ahead of victory." At the same time, the Republican vice-presidential candidate, Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, was barnstorming through his home state aboard a special train. He was pounding hard at Democratic "corruption" and calling for higher ethical standards in government.

Then, suddenly, the calm course of the campaign was torn asunder by an unheralded piece of information published on the third page of a New York newspaper. This piece of information developed into the most momentous news story of the campaign.

Speeches about political ethics were swiftly pushed into the background by the *New York Post's* startling revelation that a private "fund" was operating for Nixon's benefit. The copyrighted article told of "the existence of a 'millionaires' club' devoted exclusively to the financial comfort of Sen. Nixon." Later that day, the United Press picked up the story and wired it to its clients throughout the country, to be followed several hours later by the Associated Press.

That was the opening salvo in a political battle over funds that reached into both political parties and dominated the news for the next ten days.

First reports of the Nixon fund dealt a stunning blow to the Republican "crusade" to clean up the "mess in Washington." The "crusaders" were forced to call a temporary halt, awaiting word of explanation from Nixon. The Democrats grabbed the offensive with a demand from their national chairman, Stephen Mitchell, that Nixon resign as a candidate. For a few hours, Republicans had their wind knocked out. But not for long. They soon were blasting right back, calling the story a "smear" of their Communist-fighting candidate for the Number Two spot in Washington. South Dakota Senator Karl E. Mundt, one of the chief Republican spokesmen,

declared that the "facts were taken and twisted by the New York *Post*, a left-wing smear sheet."

Whether or not the facts were twisted, Senator Nixon confirmed the existence of the fund later that day. As a result, the senator suddenly found himself on trial for his political life.

Also on trial was the nation's press. Newspapers were faced with a stern test of their fairness in handling the political news. The majority of papers, often accused of slanting the news to favor the Republicans, were abruptly confronted with a story that seriously jeopardized their party's best opportunity in twenty years to capture the presidency.

How would the papers handle the story? How *should* they handle it?

For the answer to the latter question, newspapermen needed only to look at their papers' mastheads and newsroom walls. American newspapermen had always prided themselves on their high standards of fairness. And they have engraved them on countless plaques and mastheads. American newspapers probably have the highest set of standards of any in the world. And they come closer to attaining them than many of their critics give them credit for.

Their ideals have been spelled out at length in the Canons of American Journalism, a widely quoted set of newspaper standards, originally set up by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. On the subject of bias, the Canons say: "Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind."

While Senator Nixon was struggling in public to reconcile his own principles and practices, newspaper publishers and editors were facing a similar battle. The issue was whether their high principles of objectivity in the news would win out over their natural desire to help their own political party through a difficult spot. The people of America stood to gain or lose a lot, depending on how the papers acted.

One of the newspapers that has always been proud of its professed principles is the Indianapolis *Star*, the key paper in a chain of Midwestern dailies. The *Star* did not hesitate to remind its readers about its code of conduct. On its editorial masthead were inscribed these words from Abraham Lincoln: "Let the people know the facts and the country will be saved."

In view of this slogan that the paper was quoting daily in 1952, how did it handle the facts on Nixon when they flashed over the wire? For the first clue, readers had to turn to page 4 of Friday morning's paper. Although the *Star* had the wire dispatches in plenty of time,

it found no room for them on the first page. News of the Nixon fund was ushered in with a single-column headline saying: NIXON BARES \$16,000 GIFT. Not only was the story that followed so full of Nixon's point of view that it included almost no mention of the original report made the day before, but the headline was not even accurate. That is, there was nothing in the story to support its statement that Nixon "bared" the fund facts. In fact, he did not "bare" the story: newspaper reporters did.

Meanwhile, in Boston, one newspaper played the news quite differently. The morning *Globe* spread the Nixon affair across five columns of the front page with the headline: \$16,000 GIFTS TO NIXON BARED; DEMOCRATS DEMAND HE RESIGN. The story that followed contained points both for and against Nixon.

Across town, the strongly Republican Boston *Herald* put the sensational disclosure in the middle of page 17 under a single-column headline saying: POLITICS TOOK NIXON FUND. The paper's counterpart, the evening *Traveler*, had given it a three-column spot on page 1 the evening before when the story first appeared.

Which of these papers played the story as it should have been played? If the *Star* underplayed the story, did the *Globe* overplay it? Was any of these papers allowing partisanship to affect its handling of the news? Or was this simply a case of difference in judgment of news values?

As a rule, newspaper readers do not notice the variety of ways in which news is handled. Few of them get an opportunity to see different points of view on the editorial page even if they want to. Newspaper mergers and deaths have removed the challenge of competition from most of our city newspapers. Nearly 95 per cent of American cities had no competing dailies in 1955. Since 1920, the number of competing dailies has dropped by about half every ten years.

Even in cities with plenty of newspaper competition, readers are not assured of getting contrasting editorial points of view. In Boston in 1952, there were eight major dailies owned by five separate businesses. Yet only two, the politically independent morning and evening *Globe*, were not clearly favorable to Eisenhower on their editorial pages.

A 1952 poll of daily newspapers by *Editor & Publisher* showed that the nation's editorial pages were more predominantly Republican that year than ever before in the history of the poll. Of the 1,385 papers answering the questionnaire sent out, 67 per cent said they had endorsed the Republican candidate for President, against only 15 per cent for the Democratic candidate. In circulation, this meant that 80 per cent of the papers sold daily carried editorial support for

Eisenhower while 11 per cent favored Stevenson; the rest were uncommitted up to a week before the election. A poll of weekly newspapers showed 75 per cent Republican and 20 per cent Democratic, with the rest undecided. Pro-Eisenhower dailies exceeded the number of pro-Stevenson papers in every state but three, and all of these were in the South. In nine states, not one paper favored Stevenson.

These figures were certainly evidence of one-sidedness on the nation's editorial pages. To many people, that meant evidence of news bias also—though, in reality, an editorial-page endorsement is no proof of favoritism in the news columns. Countless persons, including Presidents and others who should know better, have erroneously concluded from such figures that partisanship on the editorial page is the same as partisanship in the news columns. True, they may coincide at times—a point this study attempts to determine—but they are not supposed to.

Editorial pages are intended to be places where editors may express their convictions freely. But news columns should be kept free of the editor's personal feelings. It is when opinions slip into the news columns that newspapers are open to charges of bias.

The strong proportion of Republican opinions on the editorial pages has led many critics of the press, mostly Democrats, to emit loud cries of anguish and concern for fairness in the press. Some of the bitterest have been the politicians who have felt the sharp edge of the editorial writers' pens. That is why the discussion of newspaper bias becomes so noisy during political campaigns.

One of the loudest verbal blasts at the press in recent years came ten days before the Nixon-fund story broke. The man who touched it off was Adlai Stevenson, a former newspaperman and at the time a part owner of the Bloomington (Ill.) *Daily Pantagraph*. He adopted the expression "one-party press" and applied it to the American newspapers during a speech to a group of Oregon newspaper editors and publishers in Portland. The three-word phrase immediately heated up the always smoldering debate over newspaper bias. And the term proved so provocative that it has continued to be bandied about.

However, few of the people who spread the slogan stopped to realize what Stevenson was talking about. The Democratic candidate was concerned exclusively with the editorial pages. He was disturbed by the overwhelming number of editorial pages favoring his opponent rather than himself. Nowhere in his speech did he accuse the press of slanting the news. In fact, he praised the "impartiality and fullness" of its news columns. As far as he was concerned—publicly, at least—

the term "one-party press" referred only to Republican predominance on the editorial pages.

Whatever Stevenson actually meant to say, the nation's President, Harry S. Truman, had his own version of what the expression signified. For Truman, long a target of newspaper jabs, the term became a double-barreled indictment of the press. Truman used "one-party press" to mean Republican predominance both on the editorial pages and in the news columns. He specifically charged the papers with slanting the news—a charge Stevenson was not making. He thus fell into the common but unsupported assumption that editorial bias and news bias are the same thing.

"Newspapers," he said, "especially daily newspapers, have become big business, and big business traditionally has always been Republican. I suggest that Americans bear this in mind, and add a dash of salt to every Republican helping of news, especially in those many papers and magazines which do not give a fair balance of news between the two major parties."

Truman struck at the crux of the problem: the news columns. His "dash of salt" did not heal the open wounds accumulated over the years by publishers. It was not meant to. But it thrust the news columns into the spotlight with a flourish.

Truman thus shed light—as well as heat—on a subject that has been in the dark too long. The furor he created helped emphasize, possibly somewhat accidentally, that the real test of a newspaper's objectivity lay not in its editorials but in its news columns.

Before fixing our focus directly on them, however, let us first decide on a meeting ground for the discussion of newspaper bias in this study. Such a broad subject needs to be narrowed down to as simple a definition as possible.

To begin with, we are concerning ourselves with how fairly presidential and vice-presidential candidates are treated in the news. This must often go beyond the ordinary concept of newsworthiness, which requires that a news item be displayed according to its news value. It means occasionally giving a candidate greater prominence than the news deserves in order to save him from the oblivion of inside pages. For example, when Nixon made his stirring television defense of his fund in 1952, the speech and the tremendous reaction to it deserved the top play it got on the front pages. In contrast, Stevenson's plan to curb inflationary trends did not rate much prominence. There was a wide gulf between the news value of the two stories. But that should not have been justification for omitting Stevenson entirely from the front page—as many papers did. After all, it is more im-

portant for candidates to get their message across to the public during the campaign season than at any other time.

In addition to this special concept of equalizing front-page display, a definition of newspaper bias would have to emphasize the greater importance of the headline than the story itself. That is because the headline is seen by more people than the story and because the headline sets the tone for the story even for persons who read through to the end.

The tone of a story and its headline is of course important. The wording should give the facts without evaluation. Important elements of the situation should not be omitted or distorted. Loaded words such as "admit," "explain," "smear," and "scandal" should be handled with care.

Rival candidates also deserve stories of approximately equal length. But space is much less important than the broader aspects of selection, display and tone. This study is not concerned with the length of stories.

Important to any discussion of bias is the obligation of publishers to present both sides of the news. In a political campaign, this is especially true, since that is the time when opposing parties make an all-out bid to win public favor.

II. WHY STUDY THE FUND STORIES?

The Nixon-fund affair was chosen for study because it provided a good test of newspaper objectivity. Associated Press editors who were queried at the end of the year rated it as one of the top ten news stories of 1952. *Editor & Publisher* called it the "biggest news break in the 1952 election campaign." Some newspapermen even considered the story better handled than others. The week after the fund became news, *Editor & Publisher* editorially reviewed newspaper handling of the affair and concluded that "there is no further cause to believe we have a one-party press." The magazine said further that the handling of the issue "provides proof that we have an independent press unfettered by any blind allegiance to a political party." *Editor & Publisher* was speaking primarily of editorial-page criticism of Nixon in some pro-Republican papers. But, by implication, its sweeping statement praised news treatment, too. At least, the magazine found no fault with the way papers handled the event in their news columns.

Another reason for concentrating mainly on the Nixon fund was the story's political significance. For months, newspapers had been giving big play to Republican charges—and indeed some criminal prosecutions—of unethical behavior within the national Democratic administration. Then, suddenly, here was a story that made ethical considerations a bipartisan matter. Here was an opportunity for newspapers to show that they treated "scandal" stories the same way for both parties.

Further reason for picking this event was the failure of other studies of bias to include such a controversial story. Many surveys skirted the Nixon fund affair because it was too difficult to evaluate with the methods they used. This raises the question of how good such methods are if the most important news of the campaign has to be omitted from discussion.

Let us take some of the leading daily newspapers and review how they treated the major developments of the story. Let us also include the Stevenson fund story, which overlapped the Nixon affair by a few days. Nixon's fund was top news for a week, from September 18 to 25, while Stevenson's financial situation was big news from

September 23 to 28. This eleven-day period covering both stories is the one chosen for study here.

Some may ask why the Stevenson fund did not get the same play as the Nixon affair did in the papers. The answer, of course, lies in the newsworthiness of the two stories. News of Stevenson's fund did not show up until the discussion of political funds was five days old. The governor's fund broke into the news when the furor over Nixon was at its emotional peak, the day of the latter's television address. For sheer news value, nothing Stevenson did during the whole eleven-day period matched the impact of Nixon's televised defense or his tearful embrace of Eisenhower the next day.

There were other reasons Stevenson's fund was not as newsworthy as Nixon's. For one thing, Stevenson delayed much longer in giving out details. He first admitted the existence of a fund on Monday, September 22, but refused to list the 1,000 donors of \$18,150 until the following Saturday. Nixon listed his donors only two days after acknowledging his fund on Thursday, September 18.

Another difference lay in the nature of the two funds. Governor Stevenson's consisted entirely of surplus campaign contributions which he used to augment salaries of eight appointees in state office. Contributions to Nixon's continued long after he had become a U. S. senator.

The amount of money involved in the Nixon fund was first reported as \$16,000 but later confirmed as \$18,235. It reportedly was set up to pay office and traveling expenses of Senator Nixon. The money was contributed by seventy-six Californians and was administered by Dana C. Smith, a Pasadena attorney. The amount was in addition to the salary and expense allowances of approximately \$75,000 that the newspapers said Nixon drew as a United States senator.

No charges of illegality were made in connection with the expense account. The only question raised was one of political ethics. Was it morally right for an elected official to accept such substantial financial aid from persons who might expect something in return? Both Smith and Nixon denied emphatically that any contributor to the fund ever sought or obtained favors of any kind. The only accusation in this regard came on the following Tuesday in wire dispatches based on a St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* story. The report was that Smith had sought help from Nixon's office in the case of half a million dollars allegedly owed to the government by a California lumber firm.

The revelation of Nixon's financial situation was the work of four reporters who had been looking for background information on the

Republican vice-presidential nominee. The reporters were Leo Katcher of the *New York Post*, Richard Donovan of the *Reporter* magazine, Ernest Breasher of the *Los Angeles Daily News*, and Peter Edson, columnist for Newspaper Enterprise Association, a feature syndicate belonging to Scripps-Howard interests.

Edson wrote his story after interviewing Nixon the Sunday before the story appeared. "He told me the basic facts and said it was all right to use them," Edson explained later. His column was sent out by mail to several hundred newspapers for release Thursday of that week.

Meanwhile, the *New York Post* led its Thursday editions with a bylined story by Katcher. Shortly after the *Post* appeared on the street, the United Press, the second largest wire service in the country, grabbed the story and sent it out over the wire. That was about 2 P. M.

It was not until about three hours later, however, that the Associated Press, the largest wire service, sent out the story to its clients. This difference in time is extraordinary in view of the second-by-second competition between these two wire services. As a result of the Associated Press delay, only papers with United Press service or Edson's feature column got the news in time for Thursday afternoon editions. But by early evening, all the wire services were buzzing with the news.

III. HOW DID THE PAPERS HANDLE THE POLITICAL NEWS?

For the purpose of limiting the discussion, let us concentrate on what the front pages actually looked like and how the stories were written. We will try to examine the depth of bias rather than the length of news stories. This will avoid the rigmarole—all too common in studies of news bias—of translating stories into statistics and back again.

Narrowing the study still further, let us get a graphic look at each newspaper's performance by reproducing photographically the first front page on which it handled the Nixon fund. Dates of these pages vary because some papers did not put the news on the front page at their earliest opportunity. In a case where a paper put the earliest stories inside, that fact is noted.

In addition to these photographs, let us see how the newspapers handled top political stories for the remainder of the eleven-day period. Headlines are repeated verbatim and key passages of stories are quoted directly in order to show as accurately as possible just what the newspapers looked like and read like.

We shall thus see how different newspapers handled the same news. This will give some hints on how to judge the fairness of any given newspaper from day to day.

This approach is based on the theory that comparing newspapers to each other is fairer than comparing them to an arbitrary standard. It is also based on the feeling that newspaper performance should be judged on as broad a basis as possible rather than limiting it to a few factors that can be measured in mechanical terms.

It was obviously impractical to study all the newspapers in the United States in their handling of the Nixon-fund story. The papers to be studied were selected on the basis of certain key factors. The most important were circulation, reputation, and location. An attempt was made also to get a sampling of political views and ownership groups.

One reason for taking the large-circulation papers was the common feeling that they were generally fairer than the smaller ones. Another reason is the significance of their circulation. Generally speaking, the larger the circulation, the greater the effect on the voting public.

Among the nation's 32 largest-circulation newspapers in 1952,

only six were left out of this study. Five of these six were omitted in order not to overload the project with large newspaper chains already represented by other papers in the study. The five included three Hearst papers: the *Detroit Times* (14th largest); Los Angeles *Examiner* (23rd) and Los Angeles *Herald Express* (26th); and two Scripps-Howard papers: the *Cleveland Press* (24th) and *Pittsburgh Press* (31st). The morning *Kansas City Times* (20th) was omitted in favor of its larger counterpart, the evening *Star* (17th).

The 31 papers chosen for this study had 27 per cent of the total daily circulation in the country and 42 per cent of the Sunday circulation. When affiliated papers were added, such as others in a chain, the circulation represented rose to 42 per cent of the daily total and 57 per cent of the Sunday total. (For a table of circulation, see Appendix B.)

Papers of good reputation were sought in order to dispel any argument that this study was looking for the worst examples of newspaper conduct. Newspapers reputations are admittedly hard to evaluate. But if we can take the word of newspaper publishers themselves, then seven of the best ten newspapers in the country are included in this study. The list of "best papers" is based on a 1952 survey of all daily publishers by Edward L. Bernays. The "best papers" on the list were the *New York Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Kansas City Star*, *New York Herald-Tribune*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *Milwaukee Journal*. Of these ten, the *Monitor* was omitted from this study because of its comparatively small circulation, while the *Washington Post* and *Louisville Courier-Journal* were considered not to be in key electoral areas. At the special request of Erwin D. Canham, however, the *Monitor* is treated in Appendix A.

In choosing newspapers on the basis of location, an attempt was made to include as many of the large metropolitan areas as possible, as well as voting areas that swing from one party to the other over the years. The papers chosen included dailies in fifteen of the nation's seventeen largest metropolitan areas as reported in the 1950 federal census. The population of the eighteen areas in all represented nearly one-third of the nation's total population.

Editorially speaking, the thirty-one papers lined up almost in the same political proportion as the papers polled by *Editor & Publisher*: Three were for Stevenson and twenty-eight for Eisenhower. Seven newspaper chains were also included: Hearst, Scripps-Howard, Knight, Cowles, Block, McCormick, and Pulliam. Five of the nation's sixty-five tabloid papers were on the list.

No claim is made that these thirty-one papers are representative of all American newspapers; it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pick a representative sample of the American press. And no claim is made that the front pages studied were representative of the rest of the pages in these newspapers; as a matter of fact, the front pages were probably fairer, judging from occasional glimpses of inside pages.

This survey concentrates on the front page because that is a newspaper's show window. Newspapers put the biggest news there, and the readers expect to find the biggest news there. Some readers never get beyond the front page in their perusal of a newspaper. Front pages were sure to include the Nixon-fund story at some point because of the importance of the news.

For the purposes of this survey, tabloid newspaper pages from the first to the third page were considered on a par with front pages of standard-size newspapers. These smaller-size papers usually reserved pages 1-3 for the important news.

In order to reduce the field of discussion, headlines are given more attention than the stories themselves. In the case of multi-bank headlines, attention is focused almost exclusively on the topmost and most prominent lines. Some subheadlines not included in the discussion may have helped to explain the top lines. But they are omitted because we are concerned more with first impressions on the reader.

Except for the Boston *Daily Record* and *Advertiser*, all information and photographs of newspaper performance were obtained from newspaper files in the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. Information on the two Boston Hearst papers was obtained in the State House Library in Boston.

All information is from the editions that these thirty-one papers chose to preserve for the permanent record in library files. In some cases, newspapers may have treated stories differently in editions not on file in these libraries. But this survey pertains only to what readers saw in the editions of record.

The thirteen evening papers—ten pro-Eisenhower and three pro-Stevenson—will be studied first because they received the Nixon story first. Then we shall turn to the eighteen morning papers, all pro-Eisenhower.

Evening Papers

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

1952 circulation	287,116 (30th in U.S.)
1950 area population	1,089,000 (14th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	None (no Sunday edition)
Wire services	Associated Press, Chicago Daily News, New York Herald Tribune

It took the Nixon fund story three days to work up to front-page status in the Buffalo *Evening News*, the largest paper in the area. And it took another two days before the story became the lead story in the paper.

But the day the story broke on the wire services, *News* readers could find Peter Edson's account if they reached page 51. There the story appeared among local news items in the classified section. The single-column headline said: GROUP OF CALIFORNIANS GIVE \$17,000 TO HELP NIXON MEET EXPENSES. The headline reflected the tone of the story, which was distinctly favorable to Nixon.

Readers had to turn only half as far the next day. The story was moved up to the department-store advertisement section. There, on page 24, was this two-column headline: IKE COMES TO NIXON'S DEFENSE IN CALIFORNIA FUND FUROR. In the adjacent column: STEVENSON HIRES STAFF MEN WITH OTHER JOBS. The rest of the page was filled with ads.

Front-page readers of the *News* got their first glimpse of the Nixon fund story on Saturday, the third day the event was in the news. The photographed page shows the headline: 'FULL FACTS' PROMISED ON 'GIFTS' TO NIXON; HE DENOUNCES 'SMEAR.' Note the care with which the headline writer used quotation marks for expressions of opinion in the headline. Other papers—and the *News* itself—did not always exercise such caution with quotes.

The revelation of the list of Nixon-fund donors came too late for more than a bulletin preceding the Associated Press account. But the paper made up somewhat for its slowness in getting the story on the front page by printing a long review of events, including points both for and against Nixon, without apparent favoritism.

The *News* did not do so well, however, in the only other campaign

news on the page. The article at the bottom of the page, said: ALL SENATORS' ALLOWANCES AND PAY MATTER OF RECORD. That statement and the story itself might have given the casual reader the impression that Nixon's private fund was a "matter of record" right along, even before it was revealed. The writer of the article went on: "Mr. Nixon's total senatorial income and allowances are no secret. They're a matter of record, the same as they are for any other senator." Later on, the writer acknowledged that Nixon's expenses had become what he called "somewhat of a campaign issue." The article may have implied to some readers that Nixon's fund was the same as the public allowances granted to any senator.

The paper had no Sunday edition. Thus, the first time the fund furor led the paper was on Monday, the fifth day of the news, Stevenson's fund shared the page-wide banner: NIXON INDICATES HE'LL STAY IN RACE AS STEVENSON'S 'ILLINOIS FUND LIST' IS BARED.

Something happened to the *News* the next day. After dragging its feet for five days on the Nixon story, the paper suddenly led with an item few other papers used on their front pages. An eight-column banner said: TRUSTEE OF NIXON FUND SOUGHT TAX HELP. The subhead added: DANA SMITH REVEALS ROUTINE REQUEST TO SENATOR'S OFFICE. This big play, however, poses a question: If the request for tax help on the \$500,000 case was "routine," as the headline said, why did the paper lead with it? Quotation marks around the word would have avoided the appearance of agreeing with Smith that the request was "routine."

In the next two columns, a headline said: FUND TO AUGMENT PAY OF OFFICIALS ADMITTED, UPHOLD BY STEVENSON.

After Nixon's television appearance, the *News* filled its front page with stories favorable to the speech, including an item advising readers: HERE'S WHERE TO SEND VIEWS ABOUT NIXON.

The senator was virtually declared innocent of any wrongdoing the next day with the headline: VINDICATED NIXON CALLS ON STEVENSON TO REVEAL 'TRUTH ABOUT HIS FUND.' The headline writer was careful to include quotation marks around what Nixon said—but not around the word "vindicated." The banner that day read: TRUMAN BIDS TOP OFFICIALS BARE INCOME.

For the next two days, the only campaign news on the front page concerned Stevenson's fund. One headline said: AIDE REVEALS ADLAI SENT HIM TWO CASH XMAS GIFTS. Another said: STEVENSON TO BARE EXPENSE FUND DETAILS. When Stevenson finally did reveal his fund details in time for Sunday papers, there was no edition of the *News*.

In the matter of front-page photographs, each side drew a blank

during the period studied; the *News* ran no campaign photographs on the page.

In campaign news stories and headlines, however, the Buffalo *Evening News* clearly favored the Republicans in its front-page coverage.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

1952 circulation	542,899 (8th in U.S.)
1950 area population	5,495,000 (2nd in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Knight
Companion papers	None (no Sunday edition)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Daily News

The Chicago *Daily News*, voted by newspapermen as one of the ten best papers in 1952, distinguished itself with its handling of the Nixon-fund revelation.

The paper, as the photograph shows, did not lead with the story, but it gave Peter Edson's column a prominent three-column spot with the words: RICH 'ANGELS' GIVE NIXON \$17,000 IN 2-YEAR PERIOD. It was the only campaign news on the front page. According to an account in *Editor & Publisher*, News Editor Ed Akers had spotted the significance of the column on an advance clip sheet sent out by mail to editors by the Newspaper Enterprise Association, the syndicate handling Edson's column.

Edson stuck closely to the essential details and appeared to go out of his way to present Nixon's side of the story. Edson, a skillful writer, tempered the blunt facts with explanatory statements such as this one: "One of Nixon's principal reasons for allowing publication of this information at this time is to offset rumors about his finances that have been current ever since the Chicago Republican convention." In fact, Edson himself came close to defending Nixon when he wrote: "Nixon's disclosure of the subsidy points up the plight of a young senator without a substantial private income. His alternatives are to make additional income writing magazine articles or making speeches or practicing law on the side. That or let his constituents chip in to meet the extraordinary office expense connected with his job."

This friendly report was made even more favorable to Nixon by the editors of the Chicago *Daily News*. The paper used boldface type to emphasize three sentences, all favorable to the senator. According to one of these statements, "Nixon said that, to the best of his knowledge, none of his backers had ever asked him for a favor." In another, Edson wrote: "Mrs. Nixon sometimes helps out, but Nixon said he doesn't pay her because he doesn't think it would be right." The third

boldface line quoted fund chairman Smith as saying: "There is nothing in our plan that is discreditable to Dick."

There was no Democratic campaign story on the front page until Monday, when a late edition of the *Daily News* led with a statement from a local Republican: ASKS ADLAI: WHAT ABOUT YOUR FUND? An eight-column key head across the top of the page said: AFL HAILS ADLAI PLEA TO KILL T-H ACT; it referred to a story in the middle of the page. One headline on the page appeared to give the benefit of the doubt to Nixon by saying: NIXON TO TELL ALL ON AIR TUESDAY. There were no quotation marks around "tell all."

Between Thursday and Monday, the paper had led with the Nixon situation each day, without appearing to come to the defense of the senator as much as other papers did in their headlines. The Friday seven-column headline head said: IKE STANDS BY SEN. NIXON; the next day's banner revealed the story on the list of contributors.

The *Daily News* was one of only a few evening papers that considered President Truman's reaction to the fund stories more important on Tuesday than the fact that Nixon was going to speak over television that night. The News carried a six-column lead headline: TRUMAN ASKS PROBE OF SEN. NIXON'S FUND. Also on the page was a two-column headline saying: DEMOCRATS JOLTED BY ADLAI FUND STORY. There were also three pictures of Mrs. Eisenhower.

Practically the entire front page was devoted the next day to the Nixon television plea. There were six camera shots of the senator across the top of the page. The banner head said: NIXON STAYS, SAYS GOP CHIEF. Under that was a three-column photograph of Nixon's children and their dog. Then, in the adjacent four columns, a headline said: ADLAI WON'T TELL FACTS ON HIS FUND. The fact that Stevenson turned down a request for a press conference rated a separate story, as did the flood of pro-Nixon wires.

The next day, the five column lead headline said: GOP TURNS HEAT ON STEVENSON TO TELL ALL ON FUND; in the next three columns 'GREATEST MOMENT' MAKES NIXON WEEP. Between this headline and the story was a deep, three-column picture of the senator.

On four of the days studied, the *Daily News* carried articles by Samuel Lubell on the front page. Lubell, an expert on political trends, reported on personal interviews he had with voters in key voting areas of the country. This is the type of article that can easily get out of hand by allowing personal feelings to distort the picture. There is also the big risk that a non-representative group of people will be featured.

Lubell seemed to give an accurate and fair appraisal; at least his

analysis was supported on election day to a considerable extent. But there is a moot question whether papers should feature such surveys as much as they did. The reports, showing a widespread shift of voter sentiment to Eisenhower, certainly did not hurt the Republicans' cause or their chances of getting prominent play in Republican newspapers.

Republicans scored on photograph display, with eleven out of fourteen front-page pictures during the period studied. The three "Democratic" pictures were face-shots of three contributors to Stevenson's fund.

The editorial management of the Chicago *Daily News* showed keen news judgment in recognizing the news in Edson's column and displaying it prominently on the first page. But the paper's subsequent display of news seemed to give a clear edge to the Republican side.

CHICAGO HERALD-AMERICAN

1952 circulation	503,553 (11th in U.S.)
1950 area population	5,495,000 (2nd in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Hearst
Companion paper	Sunday (819,226)
Wire services	Associated Press, International News Service

Subscribers to the "Diamond Final" edition of the Chicago *Herald-American* had to wait a day for the news of the Nixon fund. The first words, in large type across the top of the front page, said: NIXON DEFENDED BY EISENHOWER. A local holdup that day got an even large headline, as shown in the photographed page.

Readers who were getting their first look at the fund news found almost nothing in the front-page part of the story to explain why Eisenhower was defending his running mate. Jack Bell's Associated Press dispatch started with: "Gen. Eisenhower defended Sen. Nixon of California today as an 'honest man' in the political furor over the disclosure concerning Nixon's non-official California expense account." Following that came Eisenhower's statement amplifying his trust in the senator; the statement was emphasized with bold type.

At the bottom of the page in a two-column box was a "teaser" about a series of twelve articles on Stevenson and one on his divorced wife. The blurb said the articles would appear in the Sunday issue of the *Herald-American*. The articles were entitled: CANDIDATE STEVENSON and THE TRUTH ABOUT MRS. STEVENSON. The advertisement for the articles the next day asked: WHY DID GOV. STEVENSON GET INTO POLITICS?

Nixon got a two-line banner that day across the page reading: BARE NIXON DONOR LIST; 75 GAVE HIM \$18,235. The only other major political stories on the page included one saying: NIXON CASE OVER, IKE DECLARES, and one about a California Congressman: ADMITS HE HAS FUND LIKE NIXON.

Emblazoned across the top of Sunday's front page above the paper's nameplate was the Hearst story headlined: NIXON HIMSELF TOLD ABOUT FUND A WEEK AGO. Under the nameplate was: NIXON'S OWN STORY—a half-page wide. It led into two separate stories. One was headlined: DENIES ANY PERSONAL USE and the other told how \$18,235 WAS SPENT. Next to them was a three-column picture of Eisenhower dashing for cover in the rain. Two columns on the opposite side of the

Slanted News

page described: CANDIDATE STEVENSON—SERIES SHEDS NEW LIGHT.

A red-ink banner topped the next day's paper: NIXON TO 'TELL ALL' ON RADIO, TV. A six-column double line said: CHARGES ADLAI OK'D FUND FOR OFFICIALS. The only campaign picture on the page was a double-column photograph of Nixon.

Most of Tuesday's front page went to the fund stories, including one by Hearst's International News Service with a one-column headline reading: ADLAI AIDS SILENT ON EXTRA PAY. The story, with a New York dateline, included this comment: "Stevenson's statement [on his fund] left unanswered more questions than it revealed but his aids kept mum." In adjoining columns: TRUMAN ORDERED NIXON FUND QUIZ. The next column declared: IKE'S TALK WILL WAIT TILL HE HEARS NIXON.

Readers who flipped the page saw a three-column story by David Sentner of Hearst's Washington Bureau. Although the headline and story looked like any news story, they contained a generous mixture of opinion words. The headline said: LEFTISTS LICK CHOPS OVER CHANCE TO SMEAR NIXON. The story started like this: "Nobody appeared excited about the grubstake for political expenses [for Nixon] . . . except the pinko crowd in both parties who had been waiting for a chance to smear the man who exposed Alger Hiss."

The only political photograph on the page was a triple-column one of Eisenhower and Senator Taft.

For the next two days, readers did not have to turn to the editorial page for their editorials; these were set off in extra large type on the front page. They were not labeled as editorials, but a taste of the opinions in them made it clear that they were. One of these Hearst-chain editorials passing judgment on Nixon was entitled: YOU ARE THE JUDGE. One the next day was called: ADLAI'S TURN.

Stevenson led the paper those two days as well as the next two. The subject was Stevenson's fund. One headline: HORSEMEAT FIGURE SENT ADLAI \$1,000.

William Randolph Hearst Jr's "Editor's Report" the following Sunday was headlined: HONESTY WINS NIXON HOST OF NEW SUPPORTERS. The article was a presentation of Hearst's opinions for all Sunday papers in the chain. A regular reader might have recognized the "Editor's Report" as mostly opinion. But a reader of the paper for the first time was given no hint that it was not another news story—until he read the article.

During the period under study, there were five major front-page photographs of Republicans, none of Democrats.

During the life of the Nixon fund, the *Herald-American* showed considerable partisanship in its front-page news columns.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

1952 circulation	544,784 (7th in U.S.)
1950 area population	5,495,000 (2nd in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (603,465)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, New York Herald Tribune

Although the tabloid *Sun-Times* is an "evening" newspaper, it publishes nearly around the clock to take advantage of fast changes in the news.

When the Nixon-fund report came over the wire, however, the paper was in no hurry to print it. A study of the paper's editions of record showed no fund story until the following day's "three-star final." There on the second page was a three-column headline: REVEAL NIXON TOOK PRIVATE 'DONATIONS.'

The Associated Press dispatch, as shown in the photographed page, started with Mitchell's demand that Nixon resign; then the next paragraph described Nixon's explanation. The next two paragraphs switched back to Mitchell's "less charitable view"; then the remainder of the article returned to Nixon's point of view. The story thus gave relatively equal play to statements of both sides. It contrasts with other papers' treatment of wire dispatches—and shows what was available to papers with similar edition schedules.

Halfway down the same page, a two-column headline said: I'D RATHER BE RIGHT—ADLAI. This story by staff correspondent Carleton Kent achieved an objective tone by avoiding personal appraisal and by quoting Stevenson directly instead of summarizing what the Democratic candidate had to say.

The only article of debatable merit on this important news page was a box at the bottom labeled: ADLAI TRIMS OUT ONE JIBE AT IKE. Apparently, some newspapermen felt that things Stevenson did not say in this case were important enough for a separate story.

As new developments came over the wire, the *Sun Times* shifted with them. Its next edition completely revamped the page. In place of the first Nixon story was one headlined: IKE DEFENDS NIXON AS 'AN HONEST MAN'. Instead of the Stevenson story, there was one entitled: 'SMEAR!' NIXON CALLS CHARGE. Each story was devoted almost entirely to statements by the Republican nominees. A small story was head-

lined: NIXON GETS \$75,000 SALARY AND EXPENSES. Readers of this four-star edition thus got a completely different picture from that of readers of the three-star edition.

Next day, the *Sun-Times* carried this headline on the first page: IKE SPIKES TALK OF 'DUMP NIXON.' On the second page: PROBE NIXON'S FUND, ADLAI URGES GOP. The latter headline differs slightly from the angle most papers took—that Stevenson asked the public not to judge Nixon until all the facts were in. On the fourth page that day: NIXON HOLDS UP TRAIN TO REPLY TO GIFT HECKLER. The next edition added the story about the contemplated probe of political funds and the fact that three pro-Eisenhower papers asked Nixon to resign.

Sunday's front page was shared by the Nixon donor list and a speech in the South by Stevenson. On Monday, Nixon and Stevenson fought a battle of three-column headlines on the second page. Another story on the page said: TWO GOP LEADERS SPLIT ON NIXON. Over on the fourth page, next to a picture of Eisenhower and his wife, was a headline saying: HINT DECISION REACHED ON NIXON FATE.

Leading the front page the next day was: TRUMAN ASKS NIXON INQUIRY. A lesser headline said: LINK NOMINEE'S 'ANGEL' TAX BID; this referred to Smith's intervention in the tax case, which was described in more detail on the second page. The second page was topped by the lines: ADLAI DEFENDS FUNDS FOR HIS STATE AIDS. The fourth page was devoted to Eisenhower, and the fifth page went to Stevenson.

For the rest of the period under study, the *Sun-Times* treated the two candidates in similar fashion, showing little noticeable favoritism.

A check of photograph coverage showed a three-to-one edge in space for the Republicans.

The *Sun-Times* demonstrated a conscious effort to give each candidate as nearly equal display as the news warranted. Whenever it did appear that there was favoritism, however, the Republicans usually seemed to get the advantage.

DETROIT NEWS

1952 circulation	457,930 (12th in U.S.)
1950 area population	3,016,000 (5th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (559,134)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Daily News

Readers of The Detroit *News* found the first news of the Nixon fund on the ninth page the day the story came over the wire. The United Press dispatch, based on the New York *Post* report, was squeezed into a spot on top of a six-column advertisement. The innocuous, double-column headline said: TELLS OF GIVING NIXON \$16,000.

The *News* brought the story up to front-page status the next day with a flourish. An eight-column sweep, shown in the photographed page, said: IKE ON GIFTS TO NIXON: 'HE'S AN HONEST MAN'. Leading from the main headline were two Associated Press dispatches, one from Eisenhower's camp and one from Nixon's. The latter carried a subheadline reading: SENATOR CHARGES SMEAR, DEFENDS HIS USE OF FUND. There was also an Associated Press story on a speech by the general in Omaha.

A routine story on a Stevenson speech threw an interesting light on his omission of one part of his prepared text. The Detroit *News* account by Will Muller, a staff correspondent, was written from the advance text of Stevenson's talk and therefore included a part the Democratic candidate omitted in his address. In view of the big play some other papers gave to this omission, the full text of Muller's first five paragraphs are reprinted here:

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Sept. 19—Gov. Stevenson today hailed President Truman as a leader of vision whose foreign policy has stalled communism in Western Europe and Asia

"If it had not been for the wisdom and courage of our national leadership, Europe by now might have fallen to the Communists," the Democratic nominee said in a speech prepared for a crowd in front of the city hall here.

"If it had not been for the wisdom and courage of our national leadership, Communist aggressors would by now have swallowed Korea and swarmed over all of Asia."

Then he paid Mr. Truman the top tribute of all his campaigning with:

"And let there be no doubt where the main credit for the vision and the courage of our foreign policy lies—it lies with Harry S. Truman."

The last paragraph was the one Stevenson omitted in his talk because of what his aides said was a shortage of time. This may have been a deliberate slight, but in view of the two previous sentences of praise for the Truman administration, the omission lost much of the significance it might have had if it were the only part of the speech praising Truman. (See pages 75 and 92 for other treatments of this point.)

The story on the photographed page about the Gallup poll of "independent" voters points up another problem of news display. The practice of printing poll results and predictions on the main news page is a debatable subject. That is because such articles are not strictly news items but interpretive material. In view of the somewhat spotty record of public opinion polls, some papers shy away from giving them front-page treatment along with spot news stories. Use of poll stories in 1952, such as the one on the photographed page, actually amounted to an extra boost for the Republican cause, whether or not they eventually proved correct.

Nixon and his fund kept the top spot in the *News* from Friday through the following Tuesday, when the paper led with STEVENSON ADMITS FUND in eight columns. The next day was all Nixon. Across the top of the page there were five poses of the senator on television, plus three banners topped by the line: NIXON STAYS—SUMMERFIELD. Other headlines included: EISENHOWER PRAISES COURAGE, ARRANGES FACE-TO-FACE TALK. Also: FINANCES LAID BARE BY SENATOR; and: DETROIT WIRES BACK NIXON. The only Democratic article had a one-column headline: STEVENSON LINKS PAY, PRICE LIDS.

The next day, an eight-column sweep told of a \$100,000 STEVENSON FUND REPORTED. A five-column line read: IKE, GOP BACK NIXON 100 PCT. Nixon wept in a three-column photograph, while "Mamie" Eisenhower and "Pat" Nixon chatted in another.

During the eleven-day period under study, the Republicans got much better picture display on the front page than the Democrats. On the six days the *News* put campaign pictures on its first page, the photographs were all Republican, no matter whether there were five pictures or only one picture on the page.

The Detroit *News* did not show as much favoritism as some other papers in this survey, but when it did, the advantage was unmistakably for the Republicans.

KANSAS CITY STAR

1952 circulation	353,494 (19th in U.S.)
1950 area population	814,000 (17th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion papers	Morning Times (346,050), Sunday (370,-516)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Daily News, International News Service New York Herald Tribune, New York Times, Chicago Tribune-New York News

People in the great central portion of the nation around Kansas City, Missouri, apparently don't mind if their newspapers look old-fashioned.

For a section of the country where people are pretty well scattered, the Kansas City *Star* and *Times* have a phenomenal circulation. Their total daily circulation of 700,000 is in a metropolitan area of only 814,000 people. The papers not only have big circulation, but they rank high in prestige. The *Star* was fifth on the list of the nation's best newspapers in Bernays' poll.

But the *Star's* front page, shown in the photograph, is like a page from Civil War days. It still clings to the grayness of style long since discarded by most papers. Rarely does the *Star* give a news item more than a single-column headline. Headlines look like brand names on a bottle of old wine. They put a label on the story in the top line and then tell the story in numerous subheads. For example, the top lines on the photographed page say simply: **FESTIVE FOR IKE** and **'SMEAR' TO NIXON** and **'LURE' BY ADLAI**.

First news of the Nixon fund got extra-conservative treatment in the *Star*. The first time it got into the "main edition" was Friday, the day after the story broke, when it got the one-column headline mentioned above. As printed, the article was a synthesis of various wire-service dispatches. It was devoted almost entirely to explanatory statements from Nixon, interspersed with charges of "smear" and blasts at what the *Star* called "the Alger Hiss crowd."

Readers seeing the story for the first time had to read deep into the story in order to get an idea of what Nixon was so stirred up about. The paper's own Washington correspondent, Duke Shoop, led his

article with the demand by some that Nixon quit the campaign. The *Star* put this on its second page.

The office-written story on the front page made it appear that the original disclosure was a voluntary act of the fund chairman. "Existence of the fund," said the *Star*, "was reported yesterday by Dana C. Smith. . . ." Strictly speaking, of course, the existence of the fund was reported by Peter Edson and the *New York Post*. Smith only confirmed the reporters' stories.

The story was not only favorable to Nixon in the arrangement of details. It also used another way to play up parts the editor wants to emphasize—the use of bold type. Boldfacing paragraphs is done frequently to make a more readable and eye-catching article, but when used in only one paragraph of a story it serves to emphasize that portion of the story. The only paragraph boldfaced in the story was the last one in the continued portion of the story. The black type quoting Smith read: "These people simply felt that Nixon was an outstanding spokesman in the Senate for the free enterprise system we believe in, and we supported him in this way, as well as generally." The bold type helped to make sure that readers would see this praise of Nixon.

The *Star* broke with tradition in makeup the next day by giving the Nixon affair a two-column line: **FACTS ON NIXON FUND**. In the eighth column from the left, the one usually reserved by newspapers for the most important stories, was the headline: **IN RAIN FOR IKE**. Balancing out the page was a line, **STILL DEMAND NIXON QUIT**, on a story from the Democratic camp.

On Sunday, while many other papers were featuring the list of contributors, the *Star* headline read: **DENIES FUND VEIL**. The story, placed under a Bible verse, again told how Nixon defended his acceptance of the money.

The first time the story made the eighth-column lead spot was Tuesday, the fifth day after the news came to light.

By contrast, the paper wasted no time getting the Stevenson fund into the lead spot. Monday's paper led with **ADLAI FUND LIST**. When the actual list finally came through in time for the following Sunday's paper, the *Star* chose to use the Hearst version on the front page. The International News Service dispatch emphasized the unfavorable connections of some contributors, starting out: "High politicians, labor union officials, a race track operator and personal friends were among those listed today by Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson as contributors."

On the opposite side of the page was: **AN EDGE TO IKE**. It was just that, too, in view of the mixture of facts and opinion in the article.

Duke Shoop and Jack Williams of the paper's Washington bureau had their by-lines on the story. It looked like any other news item on the page, but a closer analysis revealed it was simply these reporters' appraisal of the Nixon affair. The story, which referred to Nixon throughout as "Dick," called the fund affair an "effort on the part of the left wingers to smear Dick Nixon." According to the writers, Stevenson forces were "grinning broadly and were cocky" before being hit by "one of the biggest political boomerangs in modern campaign history." The writers said the boomerang "smacked them [Stevenson forces] on their political nose."

Photographically, the *Star* was about as conservative as it was in headlines. In the editions studied there were only two large photographs pertaining to the campaign, both pictures of the Eisenhower bandwagon, complete with "Ike" girls and "Ike" balloon. (See photographed page.)

During the Nixon-fund and Stevenson-fund affairs, the *Star* printed large amounts of news of the campaign. It had the use of more wire services than any other paper in this survey. The net result on the front page was an "edge to Ike," as the story by Shoop and Williams was headlined. But if the reader did not mind hunting through a lot of small type, he usually could get the other side of the story somewhere in the paper.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

1952 circulation	333,171 (21st in U.S.)
1950 area population	871,000 (16th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Stevenson
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (449,778)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, New York Times

The first Nixon-fund story caught the Milwaukee *Journal* with its headlines down. Although the pro-Stevenson paper front-paged Edson's column, the paper gave it only a single-column headline in an inconspicuous spot.

Nixon's charge the next day that the affair was a "smear" occupied a similar spot. But in a later edition that day, the paper blossomed out with a page-wide banner: NIXON'S TAX BEING PROBED. The United Press story from Sacramento described a "strictly routine" investigation of the senator's state income tax.

The *Journal's* own feelings were demonstrated most clearly in frequent front-page cartoons. Two days after the Nixon story broke into print, the *Journal* in effect convicted Nixon in a three-column drawing on the front page. The cartoon depicted Nixon on his doorstep, dragging in a box full of \$16,000. A sign on the house apparently read: "Foundlings Taken In—No Questions Asked." The damaging illustration was located directly under a five-column headline advising readers to: GET ALL THE FACTS BEFORE JUDGING NIXON, STEVENSON TELLS NATION.

Three days later, a similarly displayed cartoon portrayed "Nixon Defenders in Congress" using a "warped yardstick" to judge the senator on the fund issue.

In contrast to these cartoons was the paper's handling of stories, headlines, and pictures on its first page.

On the Sunday after the fund disclosure, there were three campaign stories, one from Eisenhower, one from Nixon listing contributors, and one from the Democrats. The four-column lead headline said: IKE IS SILENT ON FUND; WILL TALK TO NIXON.

The next day, while Nixon's plans for his television talks rated a five-column spread, Stevenson got only a single-column headline on the opposite side of the page.

The *Journal* did not duck the Stevenson fund the next day. It received a single-column heading on the first page under a six-column headline: REPORT FUND TRUSTEE SOUGHT HELP FROM NIXON'S OFFICE IN TAX CASE. Next to the cartoon on the "warped yardstick" was a story on the cost of Nixon's Washington house and a story about Stevenson's large number of relatives. In a later edition that day, the *Journal* switched to a six-column lead headline saying: TRUMAN ORDERS PROBE OF \$18,235 NIXON FUND.

The *Journal* took a noticeably conservative viewpoint toward the reaction to Nixon's speech. In contrast to most other papers, which reported a tremendous favorable response to the senator's television appeal, the *Journal* said in six columns simply: NIXON PLACES CASE BEFORE PEOPLE; SIGNS GROW HE'LL REMAIN.

Under a three-column photograph of the senator and his wife, the reaction to Nixon's speech was headlined in one column: STATE LEADERS SPLIT ON NIXON. On the opposite side of the page, Stevenson's fund got one-column billing: MY FUND OK, STEVENSON REPLIES TO FOES. The fact that he refused to reveal names was put in the subheadline.

Leading the paper the next day in five columns was a headline saying: NIXON VINDICATED, IKE SAYS AFTER REUNION WITH SENATOR. Two stories led from this headline on opposite sides of a cartoon portraying Stevenson's endorsement by the AFL. A single-column headline on the opposite side of the page said: FORMER AIDE TO STEVENSON GOT \$500 GIFT.

For the next three days, Stevenson got the main headlines, climaxed with a six-column spread that froze out Republicans from any prominent spot on the page the day that Stevenson revealed his contributors.

Photographically, the Republicans scored with the only large political photograph on the front page. But in the cartoon department, the Republicans were blanked.

If it were not for the highly partisan editorial cartoons, the *Milwaukee Journal*, one of the nation's "ten best" newspapers, would have scored better than it did in the matter of objectivity. To be sure, the paper gave better front-page news display to the Democrats, but the margin was not great—except for the cartoons.

MINNEAPOLIS STAR

1952 circulation	289,695 (29th in U.S.)
1950 area population	1,117,000 (13th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Cowles
Companion papers	Morning Tribune (195,412; Sunday Tribune (616,060)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Chicago Tribune-New York News, New York Times

John Cowles, publisher of the *Minneapolis Star* and *Tribune* and brother of Gardner Cowles, publisher of the Des Moines papers, believes strongly in objectivity in the news. He has said: "We believe that the primary obligation of a newspaper is to give its readers the news, all the news, without bias or slant or distortion or suppression in the news columns. . . . There is a complete separation between our editorial pages and our news columns."

However, readers of the "final" edition of the *Star* had to wait until Friday, the day after the story broke, before reading about the Nixon fund. On Friday, the paper gave it a single-column headline on the front page, as shown in the photograph. Despite the fact that some of its readers were seeing the news for the first time, the original revelations about the fund were buried deep in the column. There was only a passing reference in the first paragraph to "Nixon's non-official California expense account." Except for that fleeting mention, there was nothing in the first nine paragraphs but statements from the Republican camp in defense of Nixon. The first time the amount of money was mentioned was in the eleventh paragraph in which Nixon called the affair a "political smear."

The headline, reflecting the tone of the second-day story from Associated Press proclaimed: **IKE BACKS NIXON IN FUND ROW**. The sub-head said he **CALLS SENATOR 'HONEST MAN,' PLANS PHONE TALK**. First-time readers of the news had to wade through a lot of explanations before finding out what the "fund row" was all about.

Although "it was evident that the Nixon disclosures were embarrassing to Eisenhower," this statement was saved for the fourteenth paragraph. In only one other paragraph, the ninth, was there any mention of the concern of top Republicans—despite the probability that their concern was very great.

Slanted News

Eisenhower occupied the adjacent column with a headline saying: GOP AIM IS PEACE, IKE SAYS. These two stories on the Republican nominee were the only two campaign stories on the page. Readers had to look inside the paper for news of the Democrats.

The next day, Saturday, only one campaign story made the front page. It was headed: FACTS AWAITED ON NIXON EXPENSE FUND. Another article by the *Star's* own reporter, Fletcher Knebel, didn't make the first page. Its two-column headline on the second page said: VOLUNTEERS DEJECTED: \$16,000 TARNISHES IKE'S BRIGHT SHIELD. Knebel, using a little more latitude—and color—than the average political reporter, started his article by saying: "Dwight Eisenhower, the Republican crusader, sallied forth through Missouri today against the forces of evil, but his shield was heavy . . . his brave volunteers knew the crusade would never be the same."

Also kept inside that day was the report on Nixon's \$75,000 government income.

On Monday, Stevenson cracked the *Star's* front-page barrier for the first time since the Nixon fund broke. The Nixon fund also got bigger play, a four-column headline saying: NIXON TO 'TELL ALL' ON FINANCES TUESDAY.

Tuesday's paper led with the report that U. S. Attorney General McGranery had launched a SIFT OF 'EXTRA FEES' PAID PUBLIC OFFICIALS. Stevenson got one of the four campaign stories on the page for his endorsement by the AFL.

Not qualifying for front-page status were the reports on his fund and the Smith tax story.

The next day was the only day that staffer Knebel's colorful reports made the front page during the period of this study. Among his comments was a reference to "the soaring histrionics" of Nixon's television speech. No one could say that Knebel was glossing over the facts to help the Republicans, but no one could say that his reports were entirely free from opinion either. The fact that Nixon's television speech brought what the *Star* said was "tremendous" applause rated a separate story on the front page along with one saying the senator was "believed sure" to remain on the ticket. Democrats were represented on the page with: STEVENSON WON'T LIST DONORS.

The next day, the *Star* appeared to vindicate Nixon itself. A large headline said: NIXON CLEARED; HE AND IKE WALK TO 'WARS' AGAIN. By not putting quotations marks around the word "cleared," the paper seemed to show that it agreed with the Republican high command. Stevenson drew a blank on the first page, while Eisenhower was getting an extra story on the page.

NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN

1952 circulation	653,252 (5th in U.S.)
1950 area population	12,912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Hearst
Companion paper	Sunday (982,681)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service

A slogan under the logotype of the New York *Journal-American*, the afternoon voice of Hearst in the nation's largest city, claimed: "All the News from ALL THREE Big Wire Services." (See the accompanying photograph.)

But when the rival New York *Post* broke the Nixon story in early Thursday editions, the *Journal-American* chose to omit any story about the event in its issue of record that day. The news got into the paper the next day, but with only two single-column headlines on the fifth page. Both constituted strong defenses of Nixon. One said: NIXON ASSAILS 'LEFTWING SMEAR' with an overline reading: CONTINUES DRIVE. The other headline described Senator Karl Mundt's reaction to the *Post's* revelations: CHARGES ATTEMPT TO SMEAR NIXON. The *Journal-American* got a dig in at its competitor by quoting Senator Mundt as saying: "Facts were taken and twisted by the New York *Post*, a left-wing smear sheet." Apparently, however, Nixon did not share this view when he confirmed the existence of the fund later that day. And fund chairman Smith said subsequently that the *Post* story was "essentially correct." (See photograph of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, page 58.)

By Saturday, the third day the *Journal-American* knew of the story, the news rated a place on the second page under a three-column headline: NIXON TO LIST \$16,000 FUND.

The first time the story hit the front page of the editions of record was on Sunday, the fourth day the paper had the news: The banner headline, shown in the accompanying photograph, said: REVEAL NAMES OF DONORS TO NIXON FUND. Between the headline and the story was a special bulletin in extra black type saying: "Gen. Eisenhower's advisers today indicated they consider the case of Sen. Nixon's expense fund a closed incident, barring unexpected new disclosures."

The only major political article on the page was a two-column "Editor's Report" by William Randolph Hearst Jr., headlined:

POLITICS STYMIES ALL OTHER NEWS. The article, which was apparently supposed "to clarify the picture," may have had the opposite affect. The piece took up nearly two columns of space that other stories might have had on the front page, and the column continued to dwell on politics despite the headline lament. Readers of the fine print in the editor's column at the bottom of the page were warned about the tone of Hearst's column. The note in the section entitled "Exclusively Yours" said: "If you've been confused by the political barrage laid down by the various candidates and their reporters during the last week, today's Editor's Report might help clarify the picture. W. R. Hearst Jr. describes the highlights as he sees them, and as you might suspect he leans a bit toward Eisenhower."

A reading of the column showed that Hearst did in fact "lean a bit"—and then some—toward the Republicans. He referred to Eisenhower's "high minded speech" and then mentioned President Truman's "guttersnipe vocabulary." In such a column, it is often easy to spot opinion statements as opposed to factual statements, but in some cases there is no clear line of demarcation between the two. Hearst mixes them up freely in an opinion article prominently displayed on the paper's main news page.

Red ink was occasionally the choice of the paper's editor to emphasize a headline and vary the paper's appearance. The day of the first report of Stevenson's fund was a red-letter day. The crimson banner across the page read: ADLAI DEFENDS PRIVATE FUND. A three-column headline under it said: NIXON TAKING CASE TO NATION.

On the day following Nixon's telecast, two huge banner heads proclaimed: PUBLIC BACKS NIXON, and: ADLAI WON'T AIR LIST. In the bottom half of two columns was an article that read like an editorial, though it was not labeled as such. Under the headline, YOU ARE THE JUDGE, Nixon's television performance was described as an "eloquent, manly explanation of his financial affairs down to the last detail." After referring to the whole affair as a "colossal smear," the article concluded that Nixon was "simply magnificent." This opinion piece, presenting the Hearst editorial line for the day, appeared in other papers in the chain, including the Chicago *Herald-American* (see page 21).

Between the eight-column headlines and this editorial was a sample telegram, three-columns wide, with the advice in large type above it: CLIP THIS AND SEND IT. The message, addressed to the Republican National Committee in Washington, read: "After hearing Senator Nixon, I believe he is an honest man. I want a chance to vote for

Eisenhower and Nixon in November.” Then there was a place to sign the “telegram.”

The next day’s paper was nearly as emotional. The huge double-line banner said: ADMITS ADLAI FUND GOT SECRET DONOR’S \$1,000. Below that was a three-column picture of Nixon weeping and another strongly worded Hearst-chain editorial entitled: ADLAI’S TURN. A headline in the next column asked: WILL TRUMAN PARDON HISS?

No newspaper in this study showed more political favoritism in its news columns than the New York *Journal-American*.

NEW YORK POST

1952 circulation	389,011 (17th in U.S.)
1950 area population	12,912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Stevenson
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (258,545)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press

The *Post* distinguished itself by helping to dig up the Nixon fund story as a result of what is called investigatory reporting. But the Democratic-minded paper did not distinguish itself in its handling of campaign news.

Instead of sticking to the facts, explosive as they were, the *Post* embellished them. The front-page banner announcing the expose—SECRET NIXON FUND!—was straightforward enough. But the headline and story it referred to on the third page occasionally went beyond the facts, as the accompanying photo shows. The inside headline said: SECRET RICH MEN'S TRUST FUND KEEPS NIXON IN STYLE FAR BEYOND HIS SALARY. Words like "rich men's," "in style," and "far beyond" were unnecessary descriptive phrases.

The first sentence of the story by Leo Katcher, one of the four reporters who dug up the information, referred to "a 'millionaires' club devoted exclusively to the financial comfort of Sen. Nixon." Yet there was no evidence in the story that all the contributors were millionaires or that they constituted a "club." For the most part, however, the story stuck to the facts, with generous quotations from fund chairman Smith. But the article occasionally tried to persuade the reader with sentences like this: "It was apparent that he [Smith] saw no similarity between the gifts from the trust fund and those gifts, received by members of the Administration, which Nixon has labeled 'corruption' in his campaign speeches." The phrase "it was apparent" reveals the whole statement as a matter of conjecture rather than fact.

Democrats not only were favored in the tone of headlines and story texts but got the better of the news display, as illustrated by the photographed page. A three-column headline went to Senator Wayne Morse's blast at Taft at the A.F.L. convention, and only a small slice of the bottom of the page said: IKE WANTS TO 'LET FRESH AIR IN.' The reader was also referred in a box to other articles on the general entitled "Lost Illusion" and "The Unhappy Warrior."

Secret Rich Men's Trust Fund Keeps Nixon in Style Far Beyond His Salary

LEO KATCHER

11 to The Post. Copyright, 1952, New York Post Corp.

Los Angeles, Sept. 18—The existence of a "millionaires' club" devoted exclusively to the financial comfort of Sen. Nixon, GOP Vice-Presidential candidate, was revealed today.

other Brooklyn Victory



Photo by Ray
voted by these Brooklyn residents against proposed El structure on Utica Av., as part of Second Av. subway plan was headed by Board of Estimate today. Line will be underground, when and if built, Board decided. Story on Page 82.

Taft Running Like a Horse to Defeat—Morse

In a speech as rough on Sen. Taft as any which the Democrats have made, Morse (R-Ore.) told the AFL convention today that the Ohio Senator was a "defeated quarterback" who is running Eisenhower's campaign toward defeat.

He attacked Taft and other GOP isolationists bitterly on foreign and domestic policy and said that part of Eisenhower's speech before the convention at the Commodore Hotel yesterday was "ill-advised" and too vague in its discussion of labor problems and the Taft-Hartley Act.

Morse, in fact, practically adopted the position of Gov. Stevenson by urging adoption of a substitute for the Taft-Hartley Act. Stevenson has come out for a new law, however for amendment. However, according to Taft, the General agrees with the basic principles.

Morse spoke, Sen. Taft afterward was "a fantastic demonstration" of political compromise written by a man, "well known" for his political fumbles.

In the statement Taft announced that he would campaign vigorously for Eisenhower and

he spoke Morse told a crowd that could be taken

today.

So far Nixon has received \$100,000 through a trust fund set up by the "club" after his election to the Senate in November, 1950. The total amount of the fund, how much still remains to be expended during the current year was not disclosed.

The Nixon fund, on deposit at the First National and Savings Bank of Pasadena, is administered by Dana C. Smith, corporation attorney, investment banker and head of the California Volunteers for Eisenhower.

Smith revealed the existence of the fund, its exact purpose, in an interview with this reporter, Ernest B. Rector of the Los Angeles Daily News, and Richard D. O'Connell of Reporter Magazine.

Anticipating disclosure of the fund, Nixon admitted the story to a reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspapers. The Senator said he wanted to offset rumors that he was taking a second salary on the side from certain rich Californians who might have reason to get something in return.

Smith said the fund was raised "because Dick Nixon is the best salesman against socialism and government and government control of everything in the country today. He is the finest salesman of the American free enterprise system."

The many contributors to the Nixon fund, it was learned from Smith and other sources, have financial interests in such fields as banking, oil, real estate, railroads and manufacturing.

"We limited contributions from any one source or any one family to \$500 a year so that no one would say that we were buying a Senator or accuse us of owning one," Smith said.

Smith, finance chairman for Nixon's 1950 Senate campaign, said that the fund was established "when it became apparent (after his election) that Dick didn't have enough money to do the kind of job he wanted to do, and that we wanted him to do."

Nixon's financial plight was a sudden discovery to Smith and his moneyed friends. The Senator's personal lack of funds had been discussed often during the Senatorial campaign, Smith said, and became a "matter of considerable concern" immediately after Nixon's election.

"After he won," Smith continued, "we took the position that we had gotten him into the Senate



RICHARD NIXON

and that we were going to help him through. Since then, we have given him between \$10,000 and \$17,000. All of which I disburse. Smith spoke freely about the "Nixon fund" program. It was apparent that he saw no similarity between these gifts, received by members of the administration, and the "Nixon fund" program.

"The whole idea of the fund program," Smith said, "is to enable Dick to go to the American people in the name of private enterprise and to offer government."

Such selling, Smith added, was essential to overcome the opposition of the New Deal and Fair Deal.

Continued on Page 82

Eisenhower Wants to 'Let Fresh Air In'

Democrats also got the better of the display on the second page. Across the top was an article about the Catholic *Commonweal* magazine's endorsement of Stevenson. At the bottom of the page in three columns was the headline: IT'S TAFT'S ELEPHANT, STEVENSON TELLS CONNECTICUT. These were the only two pages with major campaign news on them.

DICK'S OWN WELFARE STATE greeted *Post* readers the next day on the front page; the reference was to an editorial inside the paper. The rest of the front page said: IKE BACKS NIXON BUT—I'M TRYING TO PHONE HIM. The latter headline referred readers to the story on the third page, which also carried a headline across the top saying: NIXON PUT IKE ON SPOT.

The *Post* edition of record on Sunday did not feature Nixon's list of contributors, but Monday's *Post* asked: WERE ALL THE ANGELS LISTED? That question, in an inside page headline, referred to the listing of contributors in Sunday papers. On the front page: GOP BACKS NIXON. The story shared the third page with a large Herblock cartoon on the "Death of a Salesman," referring to Nixon and his fund. On the opposite page that day was a three-column wire-photo of Nixon hecklers carrying a sign reading: "Nickels for Nixon." Completing the *Post's* handling of the campaign that day was a page-wide headline on AFL SET TO BACK STEVENSON.

When the Stevenson fund came to light on Tuesday, the *Post* preferred to lead its front page with: CH4 9:30—NIXON; SUBJECT \$18,000; COST \$75,000. The *Post* led its main campaign news page with the A.F.L. endorsement of Stevenson, accompanied by a triple-column picture of the Democratic candidate. A smaller story near the bottom of the page said: STEVENSON EXPLAINS AID FUND: NO SECRET, NO PERSONAL GIFTS.

Nixon's misty-eyed meeting with Eisenhower did not get the lead spot in the *Post*. The paper chose to feature TAX MEN PROBING NIXON on the front page; inside the paper, this headline became: TREASURY DEPARTMENT PROBES NIXON QUESTIONS UNANSWERED ON TV. The meeting of the two Republican running mates was described as follows: IKE TAKES DICK NIXON UNTO HIMSELF, AND A NEW GOP STAR IS BORN. Major campaign headlines on the second page said: STEVENSON SHIFTS TO ATTACK, and in smaller type: STEVENSON SUPPORTER TELLS OF \$1,000 DONATION. These headlines surrounded a large picture of Stevenson.

For the next few days, the *Post* played up a special series entitled: THE NIXON FAMILY BUDGET: A CASE OF GOP 'ECONOMY'. Another *Post* headline said: NIXON SINNED, DIDN'T REPORT, KERR CHARGES. The

story, by a *Post* writer, started out: "Senator Nixon took his soap opera on the road today. . . ." These stories were topped by a larger headline saying: STEVENSON TO DISCLOSE FUND FACTS; MONEY IS ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN SURPLUS.

A later series of articles was headlined both POOR RICHARD'S AL-MANAC and THE STORY OF 'POOR RICHARD' NIXON.

Democrats also got the best of photographic display. Some poses of Nixon seemed to be used to mock him, such as the one on the photographed page showing him shaking his fist on the same page as the revelation of his fund. Another photograph of Nixon showed him with what appeared to be a smug grin before his crucial television talk.

A reader did not need to be too discerning to realize where the *Post* stood in the election campaign. The paper consistently gave Stevenson the advantage not only on its editorial page but also in its news columns.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN

1952 circulation	541,485 (9th in U.S.)
1950 area population	12,912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Scripps-Howard
Companion paper	None (no Sunday edition)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press

A week before the Nixon fund became news, Roy W. Howard, president of the company operating nineteen Scripps-Howard newspapers, laid down the law to his employees on the subject of newspaper objectivity. He called for a "well-balanced, adequate, and objective" coverage of the campaign. "Every dictate of good journalism," he said, "makes it important for us to achieve a new high record of fairness and objectivity in our news coverage of the campaign."

When the Nixon story arrived a week later, however, his *World-Telegram and Sun* buried the story—while the Scripps-Howard United Press was spreading the New York *Post* report all over the country. Instead of using that story, which mentioned a competing newspaper, the *World-Telegram* printed Edson's advance column on the Nixon fund. But the paper placed it in a two-column spot on page 23 next to an editorial cartoon. The headline said: MYSTERY ANGELS HELP KEEP NIXON DEBT FREE. The Edson story turned out to be far more favorable to Nixon than the version of the *Post* story distributed by the United Press.

By the next day, the news made page 1, as shown in the accompanying photograph. The six-column headline said: NIXON CHARGES LEFTIST SMEAR, IKE DEFENDS HIM AS HONEST. It led into two separate stories, one from Eisenhower's camp and the other from Nixon's. Both stories consisted mostly of statements by the Republican candidates.

The Democratic side of the picture, as reported by the Scripps-Howard United Press, did not rate a separate front-page headline. The dispatch was slipped into the bottom of the column next to the weather report. At a quick glance, the headless story appeared to be part of the Nixon article. The Democratic story lead said: "Stephen A. Mitchell, Democratic National Chairman, said today a man who cannot afford to be a U. S. Senator should not seek the office." The report also quoted Mitchell as saying Eisenhower should "cast away his principles or his running mate."

New York World-Telegram

The Sun

7th SPOT
FINAL
BASEBALL, RACIS

VOL. 110—NO. 16

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1936

FIVE CENTS

The Scoreboard

Latest Baseball Results

NATIONAL LEAGUE	W	L
BROOKLYN	10	10
PITTSBURGH	10	10
PHILADELPHIA	10	10
CINCINNATI	10	10
ST. LOUIS	10	10
CHICAGO	10	10
ST. PETERSBURG	10	10

Bolton Park Results

By and Other Results in Sports (Continued)

1. St. Louis	10	10
2. Chicago	10	10
3. Cincinnati	10	10
4. Philadelphia	10	10
5. Pittsburgh	10	10
6. Brooklyn	10	10
7. St. Peterburg	10	10
8. St. Louis	10	10
9. Chicago	10	10
10. Cincinnati	10	10

Killed by Noise, Fires, Kills Wife

Man Dies
A man today was killed by a fire in his home, which was caused by a gas stove. The fire started in the kitchen and spread to the living room. The man was found by his wife, who called the fire department. The fire department arrived and extinguished the fire. The man was taken to the hospital, but he died before he could be taken to the hospital. The fire department is investigating the cause of the fire.

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Nixon Charges Leftist Smear Ike Defends Him as Honest

The New Scripps-Howard

Four Executives Named
To Head Newspapers:

Howard, Hawkins Resign
Charles E. Scripps, Jack Howard,

Walker Stone, Mark Farrow Promoted

Announcement was made today at the Scripps-Howard and Scripps-Howard newspapers, of the resignation of Charles E. Scripps, chairman of the board of the Scripps-Howard newspaper, and of the resignation of Jack Howard, chairman of the board of the Scripps-Howard newspaper. The announcement was made jointly by the Scripps-Howard newspaper and the Scripps-Howard newspaper. The announcement was made jointly by the Scripps-Howard newspaper and the Scripps-Howard newspaper.

City Adds 31 Cops To Guard Subway
A decision was made today by the city of New York to add 31 more police officers to the subway force. The decision was made by the city of New York. The decision was made by the city of New York. The decision was made by the city of New York.

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General Lauds
Nixon as Foe
Of Subversives

Sen. Robert La Follette
Widely Explains Fund

Senator La Follette today lauded Richard M. Nixon as a "foe of subversives." He said that Nixon's record in the Senate was "a record of courage and integrity." He said that Nixon's record in the Senate was "a record of courage and integrity." He said that Nixon's record in the Senate was "a record of courage and integrity."

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Robbed of Jewels
Senator La Follette



Stevenson Belittles Nixon's Red Hunting
A statement was made today by Stevenson that he belittles Nixon's "red hunting." He said that Nixon's "red hunting" was "a record of courage and integrity." He said that Nixon's "red hunting" was "a record of courage and integrity." He said that Nixon's "red hunting" was "a record of courage and integrity."

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Merriman Smith's dispatch from Stevenson's train rated a two-column headline on the front page. It said: STEVENSON BELITTLES NIXON'S RED HUNTING.

World-Telegram dispatches were more candid the following day in describing the reaction on the Eisenhower train. Charles Egger, a staff reporter, said the "setback did no good for his [Eisenhower's] corruption crusade." The statement reflected the reporter's opinion—but it certainly did not favor the Republicans. The *World Telegram* was one of the papers that acknowledged there was worry in the Eisenhower camp over Nixon's fund.

A story about American casualties in Korea was given a four-column headline: DYING GI'S PROVE WAR'S STILL ON. This particular story may not have been overrated, but the paper consistently played up casualty reports more than most other papers.

Monday's paper devoted the top of the front page to an article headlined: NIXON TAKING CASE TO PEOPLE. Of lesser importance and display was the headline: AFL WILDLY APPLAUDS STEVENSON PROGRAM. Also on the page: TAFT UPHOLDS NIXON FUND—HE HAD ONE, TOO.

The first report on Stevenson's fund rated only a single-column spot on the front page the next day. Leading the paper with an eight-column banner was the headline: TRUMAN ORDERS NIXON PROBE. The subhead said: KEEPER OF CALIFORNIA KITTY GOT HELP IN BIG TAX CASE. A handy digest of the fund situations was given in a two-column panel entitled: THE FUND BATTLE.

Stevenson's fund took over the biggest headlines for the next four days, starting with: STEVENSON MUM ON FUND NAMES. The next day, the big type said: SECOND STEVENSON FUND BARED. Also on the page was a three-column editorial cartoon with the caption: QUICK ADLAI! THINK OF SOMETHING FUNNY. Another headline said: JUBILANT GOP SEES PARTY GAINING STRENGTH.

Everything on the front page the next day was unfavorable to Stevenson, from the eight-column line, ADLAI TO PUBLISH FUND LIST, to the headline STEVENSON AID DISPUTES BOSS ON CASH FUND. A Nixon story challenged Stevenson to TELL IT TO VOTERS. The next day's banner read: ADMITS ASKING KICKBACK FOR ADLAI.

The only major campaign photograph printed on the front page during the ten days studied showed the two Nixon children, whom the senator mentioned on his television broadcast.

The Scripps-Howard chain is dedicated to presenting the facts to its readers so that they may make up their own minds. A slogan printed regularly on the editorial pages says: "Give light and the people will find their own way."

Judging, however, from the foregoing study of its political news coverage, the *World-Telegram* and *Sun* did not always follow its own advice. The paper undoubtedly shed some light but predominantly in Republican hues. Apparently the paper did not believe that the people can find their own way without a few hefty shoves in the right spots.

PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN

1952 circulation	693,104 (4th in U. S.)
1950 area population	3,671,000 (4th in U. S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (680,530)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, New York Times

The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* was proud of its performance during the 1952 political campaign. It later announced that a week's count of stories and photographs given to each political party showed a 54-53 advantage for the Democrats.

Such statistics, however, did not indicate what the paper did with the important stories. For one thing, they did not show the omission of the Nixon fund from the editions of record until the second day of the story. Although the paper had the early United Press story on Thursday, the first account of the Nixon fund was found in the Friday "sports final."

As the photograph shows, the news got a three-column display on the first page with the lines: EISENHOWER DEFENDS NIXON'S HONESTY; SENATOR CALLS MONEY FUROR A 'SMEAR.' Two stories led from this headline, one from the Eisenhower camp and one from Nixon's. Out of the twelve paragraphs in the front-page section of these stories, only one covered the Democratic viewpoint. That was in the Associated Press dispatch from Nixon's camp (which, incidentally, said "existence of the fund was reported yesterday by Dana C. Smith," although reporters actually revealed the details). Readers of this front page thus did not get much information on what the "money furor" was about.

On the other hand, the *Bulletin* gave prominent play to the story about Nixon's income from the government. In addition to a reference to this in the second and third paragraphs of the Associated Press dispatch, the *Bulletin* carried a separate Associated Press story which it headlined: NIXON DUE TO DRAW \$75,000 FOR '52 SALARY AND ALLOTMENTS.

A single-column article given to Stevenson had this headline: STEVENSON PLAYS TAFT ROLE TO HILT. This was a case of a headline writer going a little beyond the story in injecting the opinionated words: "play to the hilt." The writer of the story, Robert Roth of the *Bulletin* staff, gave the headline writer the idea by saying in his story that Stevenson was "hammering what has become his favorite theme,

Rips Homes, Flattens Garages in Somers Point, N.J.

The Evening Bulletin

PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1952

SPORTS FINAL

FIVE CENTS

Convicts Identified in N. Y. Bank Holdup

'Tame' Bear Claws Keeper to Death, Injures 2 Others

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., Sept. 19.—(AP)—A tame bear today killed its keeper and injured two others at a zoo here.

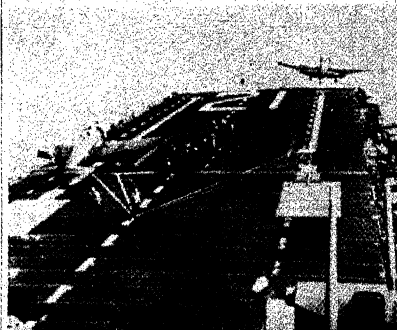
The bear, which was kept in the zoo for many years, was kept in a cage with a concrete floor and a concrete wall. The bear was kept in the cage for many years and was kept in the cage for many years.

Heavy Fire Raid Smashes Korea Rail Center

Chinese Seize Part of Old Baldy in One Day

Chinese troops today smashed a heavy fire raid on the rail center of Korea, capturing a large part of the old Baldy in one day.

Carrier Sends Robot Planes Into Action off Korea



Carrier Sends Robot Planes Into Action off Korea

2 Also Named In Robbery of Bronx Gun Shop

Victims Early in Week Paid Out Money from Photographs

Three persons who held up a bank in the Bronx, New York City last Tuesday and stole \$12,000 were identified today as the bank robbers who escaped from Longbridge Federal Penitentiary last Friday.

Mayor Would Accept Pay Tax Boost of 1/4 P. C.

But Won't Advocate It In Budget Messages, He Tells Councilmen

Mayor Charles F. Murphy today said he would accept a proposed 1/4 percent increase in the city's property tax, but would not advocate it in his budget messages to the city council.

Eisenhower Defends Nixon's Honesty; Senator Calls Money Furor a 'Smear'

General Confident Running Mate Will Reveal All Facts

President Dwight D. Eisenhower today defended Richard M. Nixon's honesty and integrity, while Senator Charles McNichols called the money furor a "smear."

2 Phila. Soldiers Killed in Korea

Another City G.I. Another Wounded

Two Philadelphia soldiers were killed and another was wounded in action in Korea today.

California Denies Financial Help 'Morally Wrong'

Accuses Eisenhower of 'Ingratitude'

California today denied any financial help to the state of Texas, accusing President Eisenhower of "ingratitude."

Lawyer Guarded In Death Threat

2 Witnesses in U. S. Trial Also Protected

A lawyer who was threatened with death today was guarded by police, and two witnesses in a U.S. trial were also protected.

N. M. Man Drowns in Bay at Summer Home

Body Found in Bay

A man from New Mexico drowned in a bay near his summer home today.

Monte Sports

Boxing, Wrestling, Football, etc.

Weather Sports

Forecast for the day

Local Weather Forecast

Forecast for the day

Lost and Found

Items found and lost

Grass Roots Election Report

Starts Soon in The Bulletin

The Bulletin Today

Summary of the day's news

Nixon Due to Draw \$75,000 For '52 Salary and Allowances

Washington, Sept. 19.—(AP)—President Dwight D. Eisenhower today announced that Richard M. Nixon would receive \$75,000 for his 1952 salary and allowances.

Years of Discretion

President Eisenhower today announced that he would exercise discretion in the appointment of his cabinet members.

the 'unconditional surrender' of Eisenhower" to Senator Taft. That point, however, was in the second paragraph. The lead paragraph said Stevenson "accused General Dwight D. Eisenhower of 'inglorious retreat' from the position won for him by his supporters at the Republican convention."

Saturday's paper led with local stories, putting the Nixon developments well down the page. The *Bulletin's* Carl W. McCardle sent in an appraisal of the situation which was given a single-column headline: EISENHOWER BARS ALL SUGGESTIONS OF OUSTING NIXON. This view did not exactly jibe with other writers' views and points up the difficulty reporters have of breaking through the "paper curtain" around some public figures.

Something of a contrast to McCardle's view was the lead headline the next day, Sunday. A four-column headline on a New York *Times* dispatch by James Reston was headed: EISENHOWER TO INSIST NIXON BE 'CLEAN AS HOUND'S TOOTH'; 76 DONORS TO FUND NAMED. The donors were listed in a separate story. Additional articles on the page went to Eisenhower's speech, Stevenson's civil rights stand, Nixon's assurance he would be cleared, and a poll showing Eisenhower ahead.

The *Bulletin* wasted no time getting the Stevenson fund onto the front page on Tuesday. The paper used an Associated Press dispatch telling of newspaper reports of the fund. The top headline said: NIXON TO BARE ALL HIS FINANCES; STEVENSON'S FUNDS QUESTIONED.

The next day, the most prominent political story told of Nixon's expected report that night. Another story and headline said: NIXON PREFERS FULL DISCLOSURE. In the next column, a story by Roth was headlined: APPOINTEES' AID FUND DEFENDED BY STEVENSON. The Democratic nominee's endorsement by the A.F.L. was placed half-way down the page, while Smith's intervention in the tax case did not make the front page; it was on the second page.

The next day, Wednesday, the paper led with a double-deck banner saying Nixon was "sure" to stay in the race and reporting on the "flood of wires and phone calls" backing Nixon. Stevenson's refusal to list names involved in his fund rated a two-column headline near the top of the page.

Throughout the Nixon developments, the *Bulletin* steadfastly kept assuring front-page readers that Nixon would be retained. This sentiment first became apparent Saturday in McCardle's report that Eisenhower "bars all suggestion of ousting Nixon." The next day: NIXON CERTAIN HE'LL BE CLEARED. Then the following day: NIXON EXPECTED TO STAY. Two days later: NIXON CONFIDENT HE'LL BE RETAINED.

On the Thursday after the fund disclosure, the *Bulletin* carried an eight-column "key" head across the top of the nameplate proclaiming: REPUBLICANS BELIEVE TICKET IS STRONGER THAN EVER NOW. It referred to an appraisal down the page by McCardle. Stevenson's fund made the page in a single column: EX-OFFICIAL SAYS \$100,000 FUND AIDED STEVENSON.

The first time Stevenson took the top spot on the front page was on Friday, when he shared a six-column headline with Eisenhower: STEVENSON DUE TO NAME FUND DONORS; CROWDS ACCLAIM EISENHOWER IN SOUTH. The Democratic candidate also got top play on Sunday for his list of donors and recipients. Also on the page were two "dope" stories. One was headlined: HARD JOB AHEAD FOR STEVENSON: WILL TRY TO OVERCOME EISENHOWER PRESTIGE. The other: EISENHOWER FEELS CONFIDENT HE'S ON RIGHT TRACK.

Except for the three photographs of recipients of Stevenson's gifts, the photographic margin was three to one for the Republicans in the number of large photographs on the front page.

The *Bulletin* may have ended up with nearly equal news and photograph space for each political party, as its own survey claimed. But in the selection, display, and tone of stories for the front page, the paper gave the Republicans the advantage.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

1952 circulation	390,772 (16th in U. S.)
1950 area population	1,681,000 (9th in U. S.)
Called itself politically	No designation listed
Editorially endorsed	Stevenson
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (451,820)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, New York Herald Tribune, Chicago Daily News

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* has long been considered one of the best newspapers in the country. The paper was founded by one of the great journalists of all time, Joseph Pulitzer, for whom journalism's top prizes are named. The paper is now in the hands of the third generation of Pulitzers.

When the Nixon story broke, the paper was leading with speeches by Senator Taft, and General Eisenhower, as the photographed page shows. The paper gave the Nixon fund a two-column headline halfway down the page. Eisenhower and Stevenson got single-column spots, side by side, at the top.

The first Nixon story was a United Press dispatch from New York quoting the New York *Post* as authority for the news. The headline read: 'ANGELS' PAID NIXON \$16,000 TO 'SELL FREE ENTERPRISE,' PAPER IS TOLD. Cut into the story was a separate dispatch from fund Chairman Dana C. Smith from Pasadena, in which he emphasized that the money "did not go for entertainment or living expenses."

The next day, the paper seemed to be stretching to give the top lines of a five-column lead headline to its favored candidate, Stevenson. Although he was touring New England, he got the top line saying: STEVENSON PLEDGES ECONOMIC AID TO NEW ENGLAND. Eisenhower, who was coming to Missouri that day, got second place in the headline with the lines: EISENHOWER CARRIES CAMPAIGN INTO MISSOURI. On the same page: NIXON ADMITS TAKING \$16,000 IN GIFTS; DEFENDS ACTION. A separate story had Nixon branding the affair a "smear."

Eisenhower's visit to St. Louis brought two stories onto the front page, one of which forecasted: EISENHOWER VISIT HERE TO STIR UP DAY OF BALLYHOO. The last word of the headline conjures up many unfavorable implications that take the headline out of the strictly factual class.

The *Post-Dispatch* did not go overboard for Eisenhower's trip to the city. On the day before the local rally for the general, the story about it got only a single-column headline on the front page. Sunday's account of Eisenhower's talk, however, received six-column treatment, leading into the disclosures of Nixon's expenses.

When Stevenson's fund first became news the next day, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* gave it a single-column front-page headline.

The Illinois fund, however, did not make the front page the following day. That was the day the paper came up with its own exclusive story linking Smith with Nixon's office in a half-million dollar income-tax matter. The big type said: FUND RAISER SMITH ASKED FOR NIXON HELP; IKE'S LAWYERS CHECK LEGALITY OF GIFTS; AFL CONVENTION ENDORSES STEVENSON.

Ironically enough, the Republicans scored a clean sweep over the Democrats in photographs in the *Post-Dispatch*, with at least a double-column Republican picture every day. During the same time, the paper used no Democratic campaign pictures on the front page.

Except in the matter of photographic display on the front page, the *Post-Dispatch* did not show much evidence of bias either way. But in the few examples where it was evident in news treatment, the Democrats seemed to be favored, coinciding with the paper's editorial preference.

Morning Papers

BALTIMORE SUN

1952 circulation	178,154 (52nd in U.S.)
1950 area population	1,337,000 (12th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	No designation
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion papers	Evening (196,563), Sunday (307,172)
Wire service	Associated Press

The photographed page of the *Baltimore Sun*, one of the ten best American papers according to Bernays' poll of newspapermen, is an interesting study in balanced news display. The eight stories of political significance are almost exactly balanced in space and display. Note how Republican stories have Democratic counterparts on opposite sides of the page.

The main headline said: SOUTH CAROLINA'S GOVERNOR BYRNES TO VOTE FOR IKE; NIXON SAYS HE USED \$16,000 GIFTS FOR SENATE EXPENSES. The display given to Eisenhower and Byrnes was duplicated for Truman and Stevenson on the other side of the page. The Nixon and Caudle cases also were treated with equal display.

However, beautifully balanced make-up did not eliminate the possibility of partisanship in the stories themselves. For instance in Thomas O'Neill's account of Eisenhower's speech in Omaha, the writer made a somewhat unnecessary comparison in the fifth paragraph. After saying that every seat in the hall was filled, he added: "It was the same hall in which Democrats were dismayed four years ago when only 1,500 appeared for a speech by President Truman." O'Neill did not explain that a big reason for the small Truman crowd had been a mixup in arrangements. Other papers such as the *New York Herald Tribune* duly noted that point. (See page 102.)

Later in the story, O'Neill used the word "triumphant" to describe the general's tour through Iowa. And after telling about a presentation of a cold turkey to the general, the writer concluded editorially that Eisenhower's "rear platform talks during the day offered a considerable ration of cold turkey." This point could have been made with less partisanship by quoting someone. Except for these relatively minor points, O'Neill's piece was complete and factual enough. The

Weather Forecast
Partly cloudy with rain and showers of rain, with a high of 70 and a low of 55. Wind, light to moderate, from the south. Rain, 10 to 20 inches. Total, 10 to 20 inches. Total, 10 to 20 inches.

THE



SUN

Phone Company Appeal
Rate-Rise Denial: Page 3

BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1952
36 Pages 5 C

South Carolina's Governor Byrnes To Vote For Ike; Nixon Says He Used \$16,000 Gifts For Senate Expense

TRUMAN DENIES HE GAVE ORDER TO TAKE OVER 1946 RAILROAD STRIKE

President Truman today denied he gave the order to take over the 1946 railroad strike, saying he was not involved in the decision. He said the order was given by the War Relocation Authority, which was then headed by General Douglas MacArthur. Truman said he was not involved in the decision and that the order was given by the War Relocation Authority, which was then headed by General Douglas MacArthur.

CAULFIELD TELLS OF CLARK ROLE IN PRICE CASE

Senator C. C. C. Cauley today told the Senate that he had been told by a source that Clark had a role in the price case. Cauley said that he had been told by a source that Clark had a role in the price case and that he had been told by a source that Clark had a role in the price case.

U.S. Greenland Base Triumph Of Endurance

The triumph of the American expedition to Greenland is a triumph of endurance. The expedition, led by Commander John P. Stoen, has been in Greenland for over a year. The expedition has been a triumph of endurance and has shown the world that the United States is capable of great things.

AFFAIRS STATE GROUP HELPED PAY HIS BILLS

Candidate Cites Saying To Taxpayers: Mitchell Urges He Quit Race
The candidate today said that he had been helped by the Affairs State group to pay his bills. He said that he had been helped by the Affairs State group to pay his bills and that he had been helped by the Affairs State group to pay his bills.

GOP'S NOMINEE CALLED BEST QUALIFIED TO TRIM SPENDING AND END W

Democrats Seeking Governmental Control Of Agriculture With Gifts And Subsidies
Eisenhower Declares At Omaha
The GOP's nominee today called himself the best qualified to trim spending and end the war. He said that he was the best qualified to trim spending and end the war and that he was the best qualified to trim spending and end the war.

Truman

President Truman today denied he gave the order to take over the 1946 railroad strike, saying he was not involved in the decision. He said the order was given by the War Relocation Authority, which was then headed by General Douglas MacArthur. Truman said he was not involved in the decision and that the order was given by the War Relocation Authority, which was then headed by General Douglas MacArthur.

Stevenson

Adlai Stevenson today said that he was not involved in the decision to take over the 1946 railroad strike. He said that he was not involved in the decision and that the order was given by the War Relocation Authority, which was then headed by General Douglas MacArthur.

Byrnes

Governor Byrnes today said that he was not involved in the decision to take over the 1946 railroad strike. He said that he was not involved in the decision and that the order was given by the War Relocation Authority, which was then headed by General Douglas MacArthur.

Robot Atom Bomb

A robot atom bomb was tested today in a laboratory. The bomb was a small, round object that was about the size of a tennis ball. It was tested in a laboratory and was found to be very powerful.

Frances Alda Dies

Frances Alda, the famous actress, died today. She was 70 years old and had been in the theater for over 30 years. She was a very famous actress and had been in the theater for over 30 years.

Supreme War Just For Peace

The Supreme Court today said that the war was just for peace. The court said that the war was just for peace and that the war was just for peace.

Health News

There is a lot of news about health today. There is a lot of news about health and there is a lot of news about health.

World News

There is a lot of news about the world today. There is a lot of news about the world and there is a lot of news about the world.

Joseph H. Short, Press Aide To Truman, Dies In Alexandria

Joseph H. Short, press aide to President Truman, died today in Alexandria. He was 45 years old and had been in the White House for over 10 years. He was a very famous press aide and had been in the White House for over 10 years.

Morris Approves Eisenhower's Labor Deal, Asks Left Role

Senator Morris today approved Eisenhower's labor deal. He said that he was very happy with the deal and that it was a very good deal. He said that he was very happy with the deal and that it was a very good deal.

World News

There is a lot of news about the world today. There is a lot of news about the world and there is a lot of news about the world.

Associated Press dispatch on Nixon also appeared fair in presenting both sides of the situation.

The article on Truman, however, contained a few evaluations by writer Robert W. Ruth that may have had an unnecessary connotation unfavorable to the President. The writer emphasized that the Chief Executive was "coached" in his press conference, a not uncommon thing, and described his press officials as "somewhat edgy ever since the President was cast in an awkward light about a month ago."

Some quirks of the *Sun's* front-page make-up might have confused readers not used to them. The top banner headlines did not lead directly into their stories. And between the two-column subheadlines and the stories they told about, there were several paragraphs about a completely different news event. Between the Byrnes headline and story, for instance, the reader had to wade through three separate subheadlines and three paragraphs about Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's praise for Senator McCarthy.

During the rest of the period studied, the *Sun* did not maintain such a balanced appearance, but its efforts to even out the display were apparent. Saturday's eight-column lines were shared: EISENHOWER DECIDES TO STAND BY NIXON; STEVENSON REFUSES TO PREJUDGE CASE. Other stories on the page included a headline saying: UPROAR CAUSED BY NIXON CASE, and one stating: NO REASON AGAINST CASH GIFTS IN NIXON CASE, TAFT IS QUOTED.

On Sunday, while the *Sun* was leading with Nixon's gift list, a headline only one-fourth as large read: STEVENSON GIVEN COOL RECEPTION IN RICHMOND. On the next day, the Democrats got only one of four front-page stories on the campaign; that was headlined: DEMAND NIXON QUIT RENEWED BY MITCHELL. One of the front-page news items said: IKE EMBARRASSED BY SPECIAL ATTENTION IN CHURCH.

When Stevenson's fund became news, the *Sun* gave it an eight-column line: STEVENSON ADMITS ILLINOIS JOB FUND, DEFENDS ITS USE.

Both candidates spoke in Baltimore within the next three days, and they received nearly identical treatment in the *Sun*. They both got eight-column lines over equal-size photographs, and each got an extra "color" story. Eisenhower's headline read: SONGS WARM UP IKE CROWD; Stevenson's: THRONGS HAIL STEVENSON.

After Stevenson's speech in Baltimore the banner headline said: 8,500 CHEER STEVENSON'S SPEECH HERE; NIXON PLEADS INNOCENT BEFORE NATION. Two days later, the banner read: IKE CHEERED BY 12,000 IN ARMORY, PLEDGES TO ELIMINATE WASTE IN DEFENSE. Nixon's fund got a two-column display on the same page with Stevenson's

speech, and Stevenson's fund got the same treatment on the page with Eisenhower's speech.

In addition to the photographs of the two top candidates during their local appearances, there was only one other picture of campaign significance in the period studied. That showed the general and his running mate waving after their Wheeling meeting.

Considering the varied newsworthiness of political campaign events, the Baltimore *Sun* presented a remarkably well-balanced display for each political party on its front page. The headline writers stuck to the facts, and except for a few minor lapses its correspondents did, too.

BOSTON DAILY RECORD

1952 circulation	380,858 (18th in U.S.)
1950 area population	2,370,000 (6th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Hearst
Companion papers	Evening American (175,944); Sunday
Wire services	Advertiser (565,469) Associated Press, International News Service

The *Record* which prints about five editions from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. daily, played a waiting game with the Nixon-fund story. The earliest opportunity it had to print the news was in its first edition dated Friday, September 19, which hit the street at about 7 P.M. Thursday.

When the Nixon story broke, however, editors of the late-news-conscious *Record* collected the growing pile of wire dispatches for over twenty-four hours before providing space for one in the editions on file at the State House Library in Boston. Readers of those editions did not get their first glimpse of the Thursday story until an early edition of Saturday's paper. The story appeared on the fourth page under a two-column headline: **IKE TO QUERY NIXON ON \$16,000 CHARGES.**

Despite the headline, a reader would have had difficulty telling whether the \$16,000 was merely a conventional campaign fund or something else. The Associated Press article avoided the words "private fund" or other specific references at least as printed in the *Record*. Note the watered-down account given in the first sentence of the story: "A Democratic statement that Senator Richard Nixon. . . was "morally wrong" for accepting \$16,000 in contributions from Californians drew this reply from Dwight Eisenhower. . ." Republicans kept the offensive throughout the story except for a few sentences at the end about senatorial salaries and expense allowances. As the rapid-fire story unfolded, the *Record* added one column to the width of the headline in later editions that day.

But it was not until Sunday's standard-size *Advertiser*, the largest-circulation paper in New England, that the story made the front page in the morning paper of the Hearst chain in Boston, with the headline: **IKE SEEKS NIXON SHOWDOWN.** Across the top of the page was a

story headlined: NIXON CONFIRMED FUND FACTS WEEK AGO, OKAYED PUBLICATION. The headline of the Associated Press dispatch implied that Nixon volunteered the information that reporters dug up from his fund chairman Smith.

On the following day, the *Record* carried a prime example of opinionated writing. Although it looked like a news story, both the headline and the text freely mixed facts with opinion. The piece, written by David Sentner of the Hearst Washington bureau, was headlined: NIXON \$18,000 SPENT TO BARE HIGH SCANDALS. Note the acceptance of this explanation and lofty purpose. And note the opinions stated as facts in the following excerpts: "The California senator, on the basis of his expose of the Alger Hiss case while in the House, was unofficially assigned by his senate GOP colleagues the undercover job of turning the heat on the corruption mess running from the White House down through bureaucracy. . . . It is no wonder that the administration's political machine has turned on its smear campaign against the GOP."

Sentner referred to "the sewer of corruption in the administration which Nixon was engaged in ferreting out."

He also used such slanted phrases as "fabulous" amounts for Ke-fauver lectures; revenue "fixes"; deep freeze "scandals"; and the administration's "corruption front."

Another story that day showed the stuff that headlines may be made of if the editor is in the mood. The first three paragraphs told about hundreds of letters pouring in on the G.O.P. following Nixon's telecast; half the letters called for his ouster and half urged that he be kept on the ticket, according to the story. But the headline avoided this lead part of the story: CRISIS IN PARTY LEAVES IKE COOL. It is usually the custom to base the headline on the first or second paragraph of a story; but in this case the headline writer reached into the fourth paragraph, which said that there was "no grave concern" over the Nixon fund in the Eisenhower camp. The result was a headline more favorable to the Republicans than it otherwise might have been.

For news about Stevenson in that edition, readers had to read through to the third paragraph from the end of the Eisenhower story. There the *Record* told about how Stevenson was "pleased and flattered" by his reception in the South. In the final edition that day, Stevenson earned a separate headline all his own at the bottom of the page.

During the remainder of the period under study, the *Record* showed somewhat less favoritism. But Stevenson did not get much play, no matter what he did. Even when his fund was uncovered, it was worth no more than the fifth paragraph of a story on his A.F.L. speech.

A later edition boosted it to a two-column headline: **IKE MAN SAYS ADLAI HAD OWN CASH FUND**. A few days later, it became a "slush fund" in a front-page headline.

The next Sunday's *Advertiser*, carrying an eight-column banner on Stevenson's gift list, also devoted nearly two whole columns to the regular Sunday "Editor's Report," by William Randolph Hearst Jr. The headline, which suited the tone of the story, stated flatly: **BOOMER-ANG PUTS SEN. NIXON FOES IN AWKWARD SPOT**. (The Chicago *Herald-American* headlined the same "Editor's Report": **HONESTY WINS NIXON HOST OF NEW SUPPORTERS**.) The article was nothing more than a front-page editorial, with little to distinguish it from a news story in appearance except extra large type and the overline at the top, "Editor's Report." Such an opinion piece on the paper's main news page takes advantage of the confusion in many reader's minds as to the difference between news and opinion articles.

The *Record* also used one photograph of Nixon to partisan advantage. The photograph of the vice-presidential candidate appeared as an artful boost, whether intentional or not, to Republican unity just at a time when unity was needed. In the picture of Nixon speaking the senator appeared to be standing directly in front of General Eisenhower. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that the general's likeness was merely on a poster in the background. Another picture of Stevenson made him look especially tired, and the caption helped spell it out with the words: "weary look."

In total space, Republican photographs occupied nearly double the space of Democratic ones, except during Stevenson's trip to Massachusetts.

Almost every edition of the *Record* gave larger and more prominently displayed headlines to the Republicans. New England's largest-selling daily paper gave unabashed support to Eisenhower in its news columns as well as in its editorials.

BOSTON POST

1952 circulation	302,121 (28th in U.S.)
1950 area population	2,370,000 (6th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Democratic
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (243,818)
Wire services	Associated Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News

People looking through the list of recent deaths and help-wanted ads were the first to notice anything on the Nixon fund in the *Boston Post*, the daily with the second-largest circulation in New England in 1952.

The first item on Nixon appeared under a single-column headline on page 30 (of a 32-page paper), sandwiched between three columns of death notices and four columns of classified ads. The headline read: CALLS ON NIXON TO QUIT RACE. The Associated Press dispatch from Washington started with the demand by Mitchell that Nixon withdraw from the race "because he has accepted private donations to supplement his senatorial salary." That was the only description of the Nixon fund. The rest of the story was a defense of Nixon.

The first front-page treatment of the news, as illustrated in the accompanying photograph, came on Saturday with the banner: OUSTING OF NIXON DEMANDED BY SOME OF IKE'S ADVISERS. The subheadline added: STEVENSON ASKS FOR ALL FACTS TO BE GIVEN IN CASE FIRST. This was the nearest Stevenson got to the top headline in the *Post* until eight days later, when he gave out details of his fund. He never got more than a two-column headline for the rest of the period studied.

"The Great Breakfast Table Paper of New England" somewhat made up on the pictured front page for its first-day slight of the Nixon story. Most of the major points of the story, both favorable and unfavorable to Nixon, were given prominent play. The first sentence of the Associated Press dispatch on Nixon set the tone for the rest of the story: "General Dwight D. Eisenhower expressed belief today that Senator Richard M. Nixon was an honest man, but some of the general's advisers were reported to feel Nixon should resign as Vice Presidential nominee." Stevenson's arrival in the Bay State rated a prominent picture as shown on the page.

The next day, the *Post* gave the story the same big play with this

headline: NIXON MUST 'COME CLEAN' OR GET OUT—FUND NAMES BARED. Stevenson rated a two-column headline on the lower half of the page saying: ADLAI GETS REBEL YELL IN VIRGINIA.

In addition to another banner on Nixon the following day, there was an article headlined: OPINIONS IN OUSTING OF NIXON VARY. There was also a large photograph of Democrats holding up a sign jibing at Nixon; the sign read: "Give Nickels for Nixon." Stevenson got a two-column spot at the bottom of the page.

The *Post* continued to give the Nixon news top play through the following Thursday, a week after the first disclosure, when the headline read: IKE DECIDES NIXON STAYS 'COMPLETELY VINDICATED.' An accompanying triple-column photograph showed the senator breaking into tears. Stevenson got a single-column headline below the picture which said: ADLAI NOT TO REVEAL GIFT LISTS.

Throughout the period, the *Post* gave more front-page space to Communist issues than any other paper studied. In fact, Senator Joseph McCarthy, who was running for re-election in Wisconsin, got more space on the first page than Stevenson did. For three days during the *Post's* crusade to rid the Boston Public Library of Russian literature, even Eisenhower did not rate a story on the front page. On the day the general escaped unhurt when a grandstand ramp collapsed—the day that Stevenson explained his fund—the *Post* carried an eight-column banner: KREMLIN NEWSPAPERS IN HUB LIBRARY READING ROOM. Two days later, the paper's crusade was reduced to a single-column headline acknowledging: RED BOOKS BOUGHT FOR TEN YEARS. On one day, all but six of the front page's 180 column inches were devoted to the Communist issue. Several of the headlines on the *Post's* serialization of McCarthy's book bordered on the much-ado-about-nothing department. For instance: TYDINGS HOSTILE AT RED HEARINGS, and LATTIMORE TAKES NOTES AT HEARING.

Photographic space on the front page was nearly even for both major political parties during the period studied.

Except for the first day, the *Post* gave the Nixon fund affair generous display and well-balanced articles. But Stevenson was treated as an also-ran, trailing Nixon, McCarthy, Eisenhower, and the Public Library in about that order.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1952 circulation	893,121 (3rd in U.S.)
1950 area population	5,495,000 (2nd in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	McCormick
Companion paper	Sunday (1,422,118)
Wire services	Associated Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News

The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, which calls itself "The World's Greatest Newspaper," has the highest circulation of any paper outside New York City. It also has some of the highest principles, according to its late publisher, Colonel Robert R. McCormick. Speaking of newspaper objectivity, he once said: "It is the duty and responsibility of a newspaper that the news shall be treated as news, and the news shall be printed according to its news value and not distorted to accommodate the wishes of anyone. . . Except in rare occasions of individual dishonesty, the news is not distorted for ulterior purposes. What ulterior purpose can one imagine a newspaper could have strong enough to induce it to adulterate the prime article it sells?"

This was a rhetorical question. But to many readers it is a real question that was left unanswered by the *Tribune's* own performance.

When the Nixon-fund story broke, the *Tribune* did not give it front-page status. The paper used an Associated Press dispatch on the second page among several columns of weather data. The two-column headline took Nixon's side of the affair with the words: NIXON DEFENDS \$16,000 FUND DONATED FOR HIS USE. The headline fitted the story which was written almost entirely from Nixon's point of view.

The first time the paper gave the story front-page display was the next day, as shown in the photograph. The single-column headline said: POLITICAL POT SET TO BOILING BY NIXON FUND. The story, a *Tribune* "special" from Washington, was a comprehensive account of the fund affair. It started with Eisenhower's praise of his running mate, but it also included comment from such top Democrats as Stevenson, Sparkman, and Mitchell. Near the bottom of the column was an account of how the fund story came to light. Instead of going into the way the New York Post dug up the story and spread it nationally, the *Tribune* (like the New York *Journal-American*) chose to quote Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota, a conservative Republi-



MOVE TO BAN CHAPLIN IN U.S.

Committee Reports on Cancer Drug Tested by Dr. L.

ERTS DENY LEFTS; ASK N RESEARCH

Dr. Krebhorn, who has been conducting a series of experiments on the effects of the drug, has denied the charges and asked for further research.

YANKS LEAD CUT TO 1%; DODGERS GO FOUR AHEAD

The team dropped their lead in the series in Philadelphia, 1 to 0. The Dodgers then went on to win the next game, 4 to 1.

STEAL \$86,300 IN TWO INDIANA BANK HOLDUPS

Two men were arrested in Indianapolis after a series of bank robberies. The total amount stolen was \$86,300.

ROYAL PORTRAIT—THE KING AND THE CROWN PRINCE



Actor Faces Hearing on Desirability

Charles Chaplin, the famous actor, is facing a hearing on his desirability as a citizen of the United States.

POLITICAL GET TO BO BY NIXON

Richard Nixon, the political figure, is getting to the bottom of the matter.

NOT DANGEROUS OF RESEARCH

The research conducted by Dr. Krebhorn is not dangerous, according to the committee.

NEWS SUMMARY OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

A summary of the news from the Chicago Tribune, including local and national events.

South Bend Teller Shot in Arm

A teller at a bank in South Bend was shot in the arm during a robbery.

WIN RACE BY AIR Devoted Couple Treasures Family Ties—a Prize Story

A devoted couple has won a race by air, and their family ties are a prize story.

Price Hoot

The price of the goods is hooted, according to the report.

Baby Flows 160 Miles for Surgery

A baby has flown 160 miles for surgery, according to the report.

Continuation of the news stories from the Chicago Tribune, including local and national events.

can. Mundt called the *Post* a "left-wing smear sheet," which "twisted" the facts.

All of this, however, was fine print. The center of the front page featured a large political cartoon. It showed a pitiful "King Harry [Truman] the Furst" and Clown Prince "Adlai, the Joker" wearing a dunce cap, with Secretary of State Dean Acheson holding a chain attached to Truman's wrist. Partisan cartoons of this nature were regular features of the *Tribune's* main news page. The following day's drawing emphasized the 115,000 casualties in Korea.

The Sunday paper was the first one to give the Nixon affair top play with an eight-column headline: LIST DONORS TO NIXON FUND; NEVER TRIED TO CONCEAL FUND: NIXON.

Tribune editors apparently did not think much of the first information on Stevenson's fund. They put the story under a single-column headline on page 3 saying: STEVENSON USES FUND RAISED FOR GOVERNOR RACE. The text said Stevenson "admits using" the money "raised through pressure." The words in quotation marks are the *Tribune's* not Stevenson's.

It wasn't until two days later, Tuesday, that the *Tribune* grabbed the ball and began to play up the Stevenson affair with sweeping eight-column banners on page 1. On that day, the banner read: NEW FUND BARED; IT'S ADLAI'S. The next lines said of Stevenson: ADMITS TAKING PRIVATE AID FOR STATE OFFICIALS.

"Clown Prince" Adlai again took over the cartoon the next day under a front-page banner proclaiming: SEN. NIXON TELLS LIFE STORY; CHALLENGES STEVENSON TO REVEAL FUND RECORDS. On the other side of the cartoon appeared this headline: ASK STEVENSON IF HE WILL BOW OVER FUND. At the bottom of the page, a local politician GIVES VIGOROUS SUPPORT TO NIXON AFTER SPEECH. Those were the major political stories on the page.

The "World's Greatest Newspaper" kept up this type of campaign throughout the life of the fund story. A week after the Nixon-fund disclosure, the front-page cartoon depicted the affair as a "smear." The paper also used an editorial gimmick to spice up an article on how Stevenson agreed to list his fund donors. In a half-column box in the story was a large number "5"; words in small type said: "5 days have passed since Gov. Stevenson was asked to account for his special fund."

When Stevenson did reveal his list of fund donors, the *Tribune* got full measure from the story. In addition to the main story was one headlined: BIG BUSINESS, SOCIETY, LABOR RACKETS KICK IN. A feature story on the same page told of MRS. PAT NIXON: '52 CINDERELLA GIRL OF

GOP. It was the first of a series of biographical sketches praising Nixon's wife.

In spite of this record, the Chicago *Tribune* considered that it was doing a fair-minded job. After the election, it announced that during a thirteen-week period it had printed 385,680 words of campaign news; the paper said this was "comparable to such novels as 'Gone With the Wind.' " No doubt it was. Review of *Tribune* performance during the time of the Nixon fund shows just how windy the paper's ideals were.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

1952 circulation	302,908 (25th in U.S.)
1950 area population	1,466,000 (10th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Democratic
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion papers	Evening News (149,384); Sunday (510, 181)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service

The *Plain Dealer*, generally considered one of the best newspapers in the country, buried the first Nixon story in its first issue after the story broke. SEN. NIXON ADMITS EXPENSE SUBSIDY made only a single-column spot on page 13 of Friday's issue. The story the paper chose to use was an Associated Press version from Pasadena. It was devoted entirely to Nixon's and Smith's explanations; there was no mention of Mitchell's demand that Nixon quit nor much of any indication of what it was that was being explained by Nixon and Smith. The story was printed on a page regularly taken up by features and columns opposite the editorial page.

By the next day, as the photograph shows, the story made the front page, but it still got no more than a single-column headline: NIXON CALLED HONEST BY IKE IN GIFT FUROR. The story was written from the Eisenhower point of view, but it contained references to the Democratic "drumfire of criticism."

The only other campaign stories on the page appeared to be evenly balanced in a two-column spread. But a closer examination of the Stevenson story shows there was something to be desired in the reporting of his speech. The headline said: STEVENSON OMITTS TRUMAN PRAISE. According to the writer of the article, Phil G. Goulding of the paper's Washington bureau, the major news about Stevenson that day was his omission of a few lines in praise of President Truman. Goulding did not mention the previous sentences in which Stevenson praised the "wisdom and courage of American leadership." (See pages 27 and 29.) Yet Goulding said: "Aides of the candidates had no explanation for the omission. They pointed out Stevenson also skipped over other passages because radio time was running out."

The fund furor finally made the lead spot on Sunday, with the banner: NIXON MUST EMERGE 'CLEAN', IKE'S VIEW. Eisenhower and Stevenson again shared a two-column headline over single-column

stories. Whatever balance the page had, however, was destroyed by two other Eisenhower stories and a three-column editorial cartoon unfavorable to the Democrats. The Eisenhower articles were about a delay on the Republican train and a report by the Gallup poll: **IKE HOLDING OWN WITH U. S. VOTERS**. The cartoon in the middle of the page depicted a scene from *Old Mother Hubbard*. It showed Stevenson looking into the cupboard for campaign issues, with the caption: "And When Adlai Got There. . . ."

For the next two days, the *Plain Dealer*'s front page presented a balanced display of campaign news. But on Wednesday, the day after Nixon's television broadcast, the paper relaxed a little. The Nixon appeal certainly deserved the top banner; **NIXON WILLING TO LET PARTY DECIDE; EISENHOWER CALLS HIM 'COURAGEOUS.'** But the paper also printed a box showing the address of the Republican party in case anyone wanted to send a wire. There was also a local story with this headline conclusion: **NIXON TV REACTION IS 'HOPE HE STAYS.'** That implied unanimous approval by the public. The story started out: "Voices out of the suburbs clamored 'wonderful, I hope he stays on the ticket' as they swamped the *Plain Dealer* switchboard."

The first word of Stevenson's fund got only a two-column piece on the bottom of the front page a week after Nixon's fund was revealed. For two days, the *Plain Dealer* had kept the story off the front page.

Only two major campaign pictures were used on the front page during the period studied. One showed Eisenhower and his wife; the other showed Eisenhower and Nixon.

Although the *Plain Dealer* generally tried to balance the routine campaign stories, it seemed to show its preference for the Republicans on its front page.

DES MOINES REGISTER

1952 circulation	224,903 (38th in U.S.)
1950 area population	226,000 (84th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Cowles
Companion papers	Evening Tribune (144,903), Sunday (533,-204)
Wire service	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Daily News, New York Times

The Des Moines Register, "the newspaper Iowa depends upon," was covering an Eisenhower tour of Iowa when the news about Nixon's fund came over the wire. As a result, the Nixon story rated only a single-column headline.

Beside it was a five-column picture of Eisenhower speaking to a large crowd in Des Moines and an eight-column banner saying: 90,000 CHEER IKE IN IOWA TOUR. The two stories that followed the headline were both glowing accounts of the general's tour. Fletcher Knebel of the Cowles Washington bureau said the general "was as earthy as the black soil he saw in Iowa as he struck hard at three issues—corruption, communism and Korea." George Mills, a staff writer aboard the Eisenhower train, concluded that "the turnouts added to the growing conviction aboard the train that Eisenhower will carry the corn belt by a decisive margin in the Nov. 4 election."

The headline on the Nixon fund said: MITCHELL RIPS GIFT TO NIXON OF 'EXPENSES'. The story by C. C. Clifton was written almost entirely from Mitchell's point of view, giving more front page space to his view of the issue than any other paper studied for this date. In the second paragraph, Clifton wrote: "Senator Nixon, asserted the Democratic party chief, is being 'subsidized' by a group of fellow Californians." One paragraph of the story gave Smith's explanation. Nixon's explanation was not included in the front-page part of the story.

In addition to this story, there was one directly below it headlined: NEWS IS JOLT TO IKE'S STAFF. The article by a "staff writer" was one of the few emphasizing this point. The story said the Republican nominee's "staff was thrown into a turmoil Thursday night by revelation" of the fund story. On the same page, Stevenson was given a single-column headline: ADLAI LASHES IKE'S PLEA FOR ALL IN G. O. P.

The paper carried a regular two-column feature at the bottom of the page by Knebel entitled "Potomac Fever." It contained short

quips, including one on the photographed page saying: "Republicans contend that the government's action in putting 18 Communists in jail proves their point—more and more Reds in government buildings."

The next day, Saturday, an eight-column headline said: NIXON TO CLEAR SELF, IKE SAYS. It led into two stories from the Eisenhower camp, one lashing his rival and the other praising his running mate. Half-way down the page was the only Democratic story on the page: WON'T CONDEMN WITHOUT EVIDENCE—ADLAI. Next to it was a picture of Nixon shaking his fist.

Sunday readers of the *Register* got an extra dose of Republican partisanship in a three-column editorial cartoon praising Senator Taft. The main headline said: IKE WANTS NIXON'S FULL STORY. In one column, there was the first of four articles describing Stevenson's life by Richard Wilson, a Washington correspondent for the page. The article was favorable to the Illinois governor, as were the others that followed. But the headline on the second article the next day carried a double meaning: CORRUPTION IN STATE NOTHING NEW TO ADLAI. Nixon's decision to explain his finances rated the top headline that day, and there was a story about a "troubled" Eisenhower conferring with his "divided" staff.

On Tuesday, the day the Stevenson-fund story was carried by morning papers, the *Register* ran this banner headline: IKE BLAMES ACHESON FOR KOREA. Stevenson's fund got only one column: ADLAI ADMITS FUNDS RAISED FOR HIS AIDES. A three-column photograph showed Nixon and his wife.

The next day saw an interesting contrast. The banner proclaimed: NIXON ASKS DECISION BY PUBLIC. Underneath was a single-column headline: IKE WITHHOLDS DECISION. While Eisenhower was withholding his decision, however, the *Register* made up its own mind in the form of another editorial cartoon under a caption: "The Nixon Smear." The Stevenson head that day said: CITES FUND, SAYS ADLAI SHOULD QUIT.

The following day, Stevenson rated his first eight-column headline during the period studied: TELLS OF FUND FOR STEVENSON. Two days later, readers were given another cartoon calling the Nixon case a "smear." The drawing showed a donkey trying to set off a bomb labeled "attempt to smear Nixon"; a second panel showed the fuse fizzled out.

Republicans got all the front-page photographs during the period studied. On days when no photographs were used, the paper used cartoons to lash the Democrats. There was only one day with no

pro-Republican photograph or cartoon on the front page of the *Register*.

Judging from the evidence turned up in this study, the "news-paper Iowa depends upon" showed that it could be depended upon to favor the Republicans in its front-page coverage.

DETROIT FREE PRESS

1952 circulation	433,624 (13th in U.S.)
1950 area population	3,016,000 (5th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Knight
Companion paper	Sunday (455,132)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News, New York Times

The Detroit representative of the Knight newspaper interests said on its September 28, 1952, front page that it was "proud of its long record of unbiased coverage of the news."

Its version of unbiased coverage, however, differed markedly from that of some other papers in this study. When the Nixon fund was disclosed, for example, the *Free Press* led the front page with testimony by T. Lamar Caudle damaging to the Democratic cause. Another big chunk of the page went to the new Arctic air-base story, as shown in the photographed page. The Nixon fund got part of one column with a headline saying: NIXON'S FUND GIFTS STIR STORM. The Associated Press dispatch used by the Free Press was a well-balanced story compared to some of the dispatches used by other papers of the same date. The story led with a statement by Mitchell, but it also gave Nixon liberal space for his explanatory statements.

The front page also included a story on how Truman "contradicted" Eisenhower on the railroad-strike issue, and a story headlined: TAFT MEN FLOCKING TO IKE'S CAMP. The latter story, by Paul R. Leach of the paper's Washington bureau, might be classified as an interpretive article in that it was not spot news. At least it didn't start out as a news story, although later it mentioned a speech by Eisenhower in Omaha the night before the paper came out. Preceding the part about the speech was a glowing account of Republican unity direct from the lips of Republican National Chairman Arthur E. Summerfield. The first part of this article is the type of material some editors feel should be reserved for an inside page. They feel that the first page should be reserved, as much as possible, for spot news. In this case, it was not a question of opinionated writing, for Leach stuck closely to the facts. It was only a question of arrangement and selection of the main points in the story.

On this front page there was no mention of anyone running against

Eisenhower except for two lines of small type sandwiched in the Eisenhower story. The lines said: "Stevenson assails Eisenhower for endorsing Jenner, page 10."

During the next three days, the only time Stevenson made the front-page headlines was for his plea for fairness in judging Nixon. By Tuesday, Stevenson rated the front page for his own fund.

Meanwhile, the Republicans took over the paper's first news page. Saturday's banner head said: **IKE STICKS BY NIXON; ADLAI ASKS FULL STORY**. There was also a headline saying: **NIXON SMEAR TRY BLASTED IN KANSAS CITY**. As far as the *Free Press* was concerned, it was not necessary to put quotes around the phrase "smear try."

Sunday's readers got nothing but Republican news on their front page. Six columns declared: **NIXON LISTS DONORS TO FUND; IKE DELAYS FINAL DECISION**. There was a large picture of the general and two other stories favorable to the Republicans. One was headlined: **IKE VOWS TO USE FBI ON CLEANUP**. The other said: **DEMOCRATIC LEADER IN TEXAS QUILTS**.

Monday's paper was more of the same. Across the top was some large type referring to a series of campaign evaluations by Samuel Lubell, who was allotted most of two columns for his analysis on the front page. The headline said: **GRASS ROOTS OPINION POLL SHOWS SWING TO IKE**. The rest of the political news on the page was devoted to Republican stories.

The paper's eight-column banner on Nixon on Tuesday was somewhat rougher on Nixon than the story it headed. The headline said: **NIXON FACES U. S. CHARGE**. It was based on a story from the New York *Times* news service, saying that U. S. Attorney General McGranery was studying the fund situation for possible law violations. But nowhere in the story was there anything to back up the headline statement. No federal charge was leveled at Nixon. In fact, the subheadline toned down the top headline with the words: **DEMOCRATS LEERY OF PRESSING CASE**. A one-column headline on the same page said: **CASH FUND EXPLAINED BY STEVENSON**; it was the first time in five days that Stevenson rated a front-page story in the editions of record. Another story on the page said: **TAFT, IKE BATTLE SIDE BY SIDE**. Stevenson's reception by the A.F.L. did not rate a front page headline.

The next day, while Nixon was saying: **I'M NO QUITTER** in huge, black type, **ADLAI OFFERS ANTIDOTE FOR INFLATION** in one column. The latter was the only story on the page without a Republican tinge to it. Nothing was said about the Smith tax story.

The following day's paper omitted Democratic news entirely from the front page, even the information that the Illinois governor gave

out on his fund. Huge type proclaimed: NIXON STAYS ON TICKET. Another headline said: TELEGRAMS BACK NIXON 200-1.

The only time Stevenson got an eight-column banner was on the day he revealed his gift list.

Four of the six campaign pictures on the front page during the period studied showed Republican candidates.

The *Free Press* printed a slogan daily under its nameplate on its front page: "On Guard for Over a Century." Although the words probably did not refer to politics, the paper showed during this study that it was "guarding" Republican interests well.

INDIANAPOLIS STAR

1952 circulation	197, 349 (50th in U.S.)
1950 area population	552,000 (29th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Pulliam
Companion papers	Evening News (160,605); Sunday (278,069)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service

Part of the story of the handling of the Nixon fund by Indiana's largest paper has been told in the first part of this book. (See page 2.) The paper's first headline on the fourth page of Friday's edition said: NIXON BARES \$16,000 GIFT. The first front-page treatment of the story is shown in the photograph. The single-column headline said: ~~KE~~ VOWS FULL FAITH IN NIXON. Democrats were represented on the page with a two-column headline at the bottom right-hand corner: ADLAI ADVOCATES FULL PROBE OF NIXON GIFTS.

Dominating the page under the top banner was one of the cartoons the paper ran almost daily during the campaign. Entitled "Second Fiddling While Byrnes Roams," the drawing depicted a bedraggled Stevenson playing "I'm Just Wild About Harry" on the violin, while Governor Byrnes of South Carolina fends him off with an extended arm.

Readers of the Sunday *Star* the next day saw no mention of Nixon's accounting of his fund on the front page, but there was another similar-sized cartoon of Truman and Stevenson. The drawing, the fourth in a series entitled "Last on Our No-Hit Parade," showed Truman playing the piano and singing to Stevenson: "Adlai, Adlai, give me your answer, do! Need help badly? I am the man for you. We will campaign together, in lovely autumn weather. And you'll look swell while I give 'em hell on a whistle stop built for two."

The only political news on the front page on Monday was a small single-column story saying: NIXON TO BARE FINANCES. But on Tuesday, a seven-column headline across the page said: ADLAI PROMOTED FUND FOR AIDES. It was the top news that day. On the same page was another cartoon, this one entitled: "Fool's Gold." It showed Democrats digging up a "phoney Nixon issue." Other campaign headlines on the page included: JENNER DECLARES NIXON TARGET OF COMMUNISTS, and TRUMAN'S STATE VISIT SURPRISE TO LEADERS.

Thursday's paper featured another piece of partisan artwork in the center of the first page. The picture showed a "political smear artist" who "usually gets more on himself than anything." The eight-column sweep headline declared: NIXON TO REMAIN IN RACE.

The visit by Stevenson to Indianapolis the next day brought a new look temporarily. Instead of an anti-Democratic cartoon, there was a pencil sketch of Stevenson beside a two-column editorial entitled: "Welcome, Adlai Stevenson." The editorial said in part: "We hope Mr. Stevenson enjoys the good Hoosier hospitality for which our city and state are famous." A seven-column headline said: STATE MAPS HUGE 'STEVE' WELCOME.

The account of Stevenson's speech in the paper the next day was headlined: STEVENSON OFFERS ECONOMY PLAN. It got an eight-column headline. The only photograph of Stevenson found during the period of study appeared that day. The Democratic candidate got prominent coverage with two sidebar stories.

But the next day, an eight-column banner proclaimed: ADLAI SILENT ON SECOND FUND. In another cartoon, Stevenson was the one playing the piano for Truman while singing: "We Caudle closer. . . play double deal air, singing those ol' padded payroll blues."

The *Star* made abundantly clear on its front page where its political preferences lay.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

1952 circulation	391,842 (15th in U.S.)
1950 area population	4,368,000 (3rd in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (759,683)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, New York Times, Chicago Tribune-New York News

The paper that claims to print "all the news all the time" did not use the Nixon-fund story on its first page until three days after the news broke. The Los Angeles *Times* put its first story on the fourth page of Friday's paper under a two-column headline saying: **EXPENSE FUND FOR NIXON EXPLAINED BY FRIENDS.**

Not only was the headline friendly, but the staff-written story was too. It started out: "Revelation by one of his Southern California supporters that Sen. Richard Nixon, Republican nominee for vice president, has received approximately \$16,000 during the last two years for extra expenses incurred for travel, postage and other public services yesterday drew fire from Democratic sources and prompted an equally sharp retort from Nixon."

Then, instead of describing the Democratic "fire," the writer of the article followed up with quotations from Smith and Nixon in explanation of the fund as a perfectly legitimate operation. The writer said of Mitchell, the Democratic national chairman that he "was quick to attempt to make political capital of the 'expense fund' issue." Of a total of thirty paragraphs, however, the Democratic viewpoint was referred to in only four.

Nixon's fund again failed to make the front page the next day, Saturday, but it moved up to the second page with this headline: **ATTACKS LEVELED AT NIXON DENOUNCED.** The article, signed by "The Watchman," stated the opinion that "the Democratic opposition sought to make political capital out of the revelation" (of the Nixon fund). The story consisted mostly of statements by Eisenhower and Nixon. A single-column story on the same page said: **NIXON'S DEFIANCE OF SMEAR HAILED.** The word "smear" was not enclosed in quotation marks and it thus appeared as an accepted fact that the fund disclosure was indeed a "smear." The subhead said: **CROWD ROARS APPROVAL AS HE WARNS FIGHT TO ROUT REDS WILL GO ON.**

When the story finally hit the front page on Sunday, Nixon was still shown to be on the offensive: NIXON BLASTS 'BIG LIE' ON EXPENSE FUND. While other papers were leading with the list of contributors, the Los Angeles *Times* kept the information off the first page. However, there was room for a story headlined: EISENHOWER HITS CORRUPT OFFICIALS, and another headed: EISENHOWER KEEPS LEAD IN GALLUP POLL. A smaller skeptical headline further down the page said: BACKS PLATFORM ON CIVIL RIGHTS, STEVENSON SAYS.

While most of the nation was awaiting Nixon's television explanation, the *Times* was virtually declaring Nixon innocent of any improprieties before the talk was even telecast. On the day of the talk, the paper's eight-column political headline said: EISENHOWER HITS CLUMSY DIPLOMACY AND SMUGNESS. (Notice what is taken for granted in this headline.) There was a picture of Nixon and his wife waving beside a headline saying: NIXON HERE TO TELL U. S. OF FINANCES. In the next two columns, the *Times* opened its editorial heart in an article entitled: WE STAND BY NIXON. The article, prominently displayed on the front page, referred to Nixon's critics as "professional political liars" and "experienced political smear artists." In a two-column spot at the bottom of the page: STEVENSON'S ILLINOIS FUND UNDER FIRE.

After Nixon's stirring television plea, the *Times* got even more emotional on its front page. The paper blared out in type two-inches high: IKE PRAISES NIXON'S COURAGEOUS SPEECH. Other items on the page were headlined: DOCUMENTS SHOW NIXON BLAMELESS, and HOW TO DIRECT MESSAGES TO GOP CHIEFS. The only story not in praise of the senator was one saying: QUIT RACE DEMAND ON GOV. STEVENSON.

Nearly half of the front page was occupied the next day with an editorial and a picture of Eisenhower and Nixon waving together after their dramatic meeting. The editorial was another strong plea in favor of Nixon.

The paper finally got around to giving Stevenson's fund the eight-column treatment on the front page two days after the story broke. On the same page with the Stevenson headline was one telling of GREAT RECEPTION GIVEN NIXON at Salt Lake City.

In the matter of photographic display on the front page, the Democrats were frozen out, while the *Times* was publishing three and four-column likenesses of the Republicans.

If the *Times* was trying to print "all the news all the time," the effort certainly was not apparent from a review of its front page during the period under study.

NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

1952 circulation	901,735 (2nd in U.S.)
1950 area population	12,912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Hearst
Companion paper	Sunday (982,681)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, International News Service

Although the Nixon fund story broke early Thursday in the rival New York *Post*, the first story about it in the *Mirror* came almost two days later, in an early edition of Saturday's paper. It appeared under a double-column headline on the second page saying: **IKE VOICES FAITH IN NIXON HONESTY**. Above it was a photograph of Eisenhower and his wife.

The wording of the Associated Press account, shown in the accompanying photograph, was mostly from Nixon's point of view. The article started out saying: "Gen. Eisenhower today voiced faith in the honesty of Sen. Nixon in a mounting political uproar over Nixon's acceptance of expense money from wealthy California businessmen."

A later edition of the *Mirror* put the news on the first page with the lines reading: **IKE CALLS NIXON HONEST, BACKS HIM**. The later dispatch by the Associated Press constituted a strong defense of the California senator. Only one of the sixteen paragraphs on the second page referred to Mitchell's comments that Nixon's fund was "morally wrong."

On the same page was a single-column piece headlined: **ADLAI CALLS FOR REPORT ON NIXON \$**. Mention of the Democratic candidate's tour of New York City and Connecticut came later on in the story.

In fact, the only quotations from Stevenson, except on the fund, came at the bottom of the column. And they were not even spoken by Stevenson. The words, which the paper said were dropped from a prepared text, were printed in especially black type. They said: "Let there be no doubt where the main credit for the vision and the courage of our foreign policy lies—it lies with Harry S. Truman."

The writer said that, in delivering the speech, Stevenson omitted this sentence. The omission may have been significant, but Stevenson had just praised Truman in the previous sentence of his speech. As reported by the Detroit *News* that day (See page 27), Stevenson had

said: "If it had not been for the wisdom and courage of our national leadership, Europe by now might have fallen to the Communists. If it had not been for the wisdom and courage of our national leadership, Communist aggressors would by now have swallowed Korea and swarmed over all of Asia." That part of Stevenson's speech was not quoted by the *Mirror*.

Stevenson also got pushed around somewhat in Sunday's *Mirror*. He started out on the second page surrounded by Republican news and pictures and had this headline: ADLAI REAFFIRMS CIVIL RIGHTS STAND IN VIRGINIA. Later editions put him further back in the paper. In his place on the second page were put two large photographs, making the page entirely Republican in tone.

Stevenson's talks the next day and visit to Cardinal Spellman in New York City rated only a single-column headline on the fourth page. The second page was again given over to the Republicans, featuring a large picture of Nixon and his wife smiling and waving beside the headline: NIXON EXPECTS TO KNOW FATE WITHIN 48 HOURS. The fact that Eisenhower was "perturbed" by the fund issue was buried in the story.

Stevenson's enthusiastic reception at the A.F.L. convention was virtually ignored the next day by the *Mirror* except for a front-page photograph of the candidate and the repaired sole of his shoe. The headline taking up the rest of the front page said: NIXON HITS BACK TONIGHT IN 75¢ TALK TO NATION.

The biggest headline for the Democrats that day was: ADLAI PRODDED TO BARE HIS SLUSH FUND. (The phrase, "slush fund" was never applied to Nixon's expense fund in the pages studied in this survey.) In later editions that day, the *Mirror* put the story on the front page with the lines: AIDES GET PRIVATE FUNDS, ADLAI ADMITS.

After Nixon's television speech, the paper burst out with a lot of pro-Republican stories, including one headlined: PUBLIC SUPPORTS NIXON, BELIEVES HE SHOULD STAY.

An even greater deluge of Republican news and pictures filled the paper the next day. The front page consisted of a huge picture of a pile of telegrams and big block letters saying: NIXON WIRES SWAMP GOP. On the second page, a page-wide banner said: CANDIDATE NIXON IS 'IN' BY A LANDSLIDE.

Also on the page was a picture of Eisenhower with a large broom under a headline saying: IKE ELATED AT RESPONSE, SETS MEETING WITH NIXON. One other page, the fourth, was devoted to campaign stories. It carried this five-column line: YOU SAID IT: 'HONEST, COURAGEOUS,

SHOULDN'T QUIT.' Underneath were thirty half-column cuts of the "public," with praise for Nixon quoted from each person.

One of the *Mirror's* devices which often slanted the tone of headlines was its use of a tiny overline qualifying a huge headline that by itself would sound too opinionated. Huge black type covering most of the front page asked: WHAT'S ADLAI HIDING? Above it in much smaller type, followed by a colon, were the qualifying words: IKE AIDE CHALLENGES. The rest of the page was devoted to a page-wide picture of Nixon and his wife waving.

Display of photographs throughout the period gave a big advantage to the Republicans, by a margin of about two to one in total space.

All the time, the *Mirror* was quoting a Bible verse on its editorial page saying: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Judging from the performance of the *Mirror* in this study, the "truth" meant Republican "truth" as far as the news columns were concerned.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

1952 circulation	2,179,693 (1st in U.S.)
1950 area population	12,912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	McCormick
Companion paper	Sunday (3,947,000)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News

On page 14 of its Friday issue, the only thing the tabloid *New York News* did not want to sell was the Nixon fund story.

Advertisements filled the page, except for a small two-column spot where readers could get their first information about the famous fund. The headline hardly even sold the story. It said: NIXON USED PRIVATE FUND TO SAVE U. S. \$. "Good for him," a reader might have said and passed on to the advertisements. The headline went beyond a statement of fact by appearing to depict Nixon's action as a patriotic gesture.

Patriotism also glowed in another headline that day, one which said: BYRNES OUT FOR IKE FOR COUNTRY'S GOOD.

The first time the fund hit the tabloid's main news pages was the following day, as shown in the accompanying photograph. A line on the front page was the first hint of the fund to those who read only what they can see from a subway strap. The line said: IKE BACKS NIXON AS 'HONEST.'

Readers who got to the second page got the details on why the general believed that his running mate "would not compromise with what is right." The story was headlined on the second page: IKE ACCEPTS NIXON'S 'HONEST' EXPLANATION. (Note the proper use of quotation marks around the word "honest.") The article by staff writer Ted Lewis seemed to be a fair appraisal of the situation. It even mentioned that the general's reception at Kansas City was "disappointing," featured by "occasional boos" and signs reading: "Donate here to help Poor Richard Nixon." Later on, the writer slipped in a sardonic nickname for Senator Kefauver of Tennessee, calling him "Estes (Crime Buster) Kefauver."

Readers looking for mention of Governor Stevenson found three lines of type in the middle of the Eisenhower story. They said: "Gov. Stevenson calls on GOP to investigate the Nixon case. The story is on

Ike Accepts Nixon's 'Honest' Explanation

By TED LEWIS
(Staff Correspondent of The News)

Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 19.—Dwight D. Eisenhower tonight accepted an explanation from his running mate, Senator Richard M. Nixon, of a \$16,000 "expenses" fund, apparently spiking reports that the California Senator would have to withdraw from the GOP ticket.

Ike told a GOP rally in the Kansas City Auditorium in a departure from the text of a major speech on corruption that Nixon's explanation was an honest statement, "in his opinion."

A partisan crowd of more than 2,000 whooped it up particularly when Ike took Nixon's side.

"Knowing Dick Nixon as I do, I don't lie," Ike believed that when the facts are known to all of us, they'll show that Dick Nixon would not compromise with what is right, and he and I believe in a simple matter of morality and ethics. The explanation by Nixon was laid out by Eisenhower by an act, it could not be denied, but it was by phone in California as he stated.

Plagues Complete Accounting. The Senator's explanation, as Ike said, is a complete accounting of the controversial fund would make. Nixon also said the state laws developed as a matter of fact by persons intent on spying the Democrats in power.

Gov. Stevenson calls on GOP to investigate the Nixon case. The story is on page 5.

Washington. Nixon told his staff that "the facts show that public-spirited citizens who contributed to this fund had no intention of using the money for anything from use in any of the various forms, whether for or against." The facts will show that not one red cent was used by me for my personal use. Ike added, according to the record released by his staff, "the fact will make it crystal clear that it is a legitimate political fund intended in an earnest and honest desire to support my State and Commonwealth and country in Government."

It's Not a Crime. Nixon said he had spent the money in the most proper and honest manner in the history of the United States. He said he had spent the money in the most proper and honest manner in the history of the United States. He said he had spent the money in the most proper and honest manner in the history of the United States.



Gov. Eisenhower waves from his car during Kansas City parade.

NEWS ON THE AIR
TELEVISION—WPIX—Channel 11
7:00 p. m.—*Year Reporter*
10:40 p. m.—*Tennesson's News*
12:15 a. m.—*Sanderson News*
RADIO—WHEW—Dial 1100
"Beats Around the Clock"—at half past every hour.

would come "when the facts are known to all of us."

Ike's press secretary, James C. Hagerty, said that the campaign political adviser who talked to Nixon and relayed the message was Senator Paul Douglas of Nebraska.

The dramatic campaign development was overshadowed by the general's attack on "corrupt government" and "bureaucratic rule" in Southern Tennessee home towns. He attacked the big party rally a real homecoming in Washington by an administration which will keep it close.

He said that he intended to have an "unconventional" government organized only of "unconventional men and women."

Ike's welcome in Truman's hometown was enthusiastic. Ike and his wife, Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, were met at the station plaza. Two big signs were raised on the main street of the town. The signs read "Welcome to Ike and Mamie" and "Welcome to Ike and Mamie."

Eisenhower met with Gov. Stevenson with a determination. He said he had spent the money in the most proper and honest manner in the history of the United States. He said he had spent the money in the most proper and honest manner in the history of the United States.

(Continued on page 5.)

Held in Killing Of Stepson, 2

A 3-foot-11, 125-pound railroad worker was accused last night of beating his 7-year-old stepson to death in a rage because the child had fiddled up the apartment while the man slept.

The prisoner, booked at the W. 12th St. station in a charge of homicide, was Kenneth MacLellan, 32, of 200 W. 11th St. Police said he admitted slugging the little boy with his fists until the youngster's mother stopped and he "got off."

The beating, which Assistant District Attorney Vincent Connelly called "cruel and savage," occurred about 2 P. M. yesterday. MacLellan, a 30-year-old Irish American, was charged with the murder of his 7-year-old stepson, Joseph William MacLellan, son of his wife, a waitress, now away on her job.

MacLellan, the youngster, Joseph William MacLellan, son of his wife, a waitress, now away on her job.

MacLellan, the youngster, Joseph William MacLellan, son of his wife, a waitress, now away on her job.

MacLellan, the youngster, Joseph William MacLellan, son of his wife, a waitress, now away on her job.

(Continued on page 5.)

4 Top Legislators Hit by Caudle in Tax Graft Probe

By PAUL HEALY

Washington, D. C., Sept. 19.—Theron Caudle (R-Mo.) today told House probers that Democratic Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Harley Kilgore of West Virginia, Republican Senator William Langer of North Dakota, and Democratic Representative Robert L. Douglas of North Carolina, intervened in tax cases while he was in the Justice Department tax division.

Caudle, in his second day of drawing disclosures about the "black" which came from various quarters while he was at Assistant Attorney General, pictured the job as one which seldom gave a man a moment's peace before he was suddenly fired a year ago by President Truman because of his "incompatible" extrajudicial activities.

Dropping big names with almost every breath, Caudle gave those instances of prosecution shenanigans to the attentive subcommittee members.

L. Pepper, before he was defeated in the 1948 Senatorial primary, came to him to interfere for a

group of liquor dealers charged with evading taxes on 100,000 cases of black market whiskey distributed from Kentucky and Florida. Pepper's visit, Caudle said, had been preceded by a meeting in their Attorney General Tom C. Clark's office with Edward (Pat) Boyle Pritchard, an "honorary" counsel for the Democratic National Committee and attorney for some of the liquor dealers.

Fined \$25,000.

Caudle said Pritchard at that meeting "tried to tell me we didn't have a case" but that he put the liquor dealers in jail for conspiracy anyway. They pleaded guilty and were fined \$25,000.

Kilgore once asked for a conference on tax cases against two



Senator Pepper. Senator Kilgore. Linked in Caudle testimony.

West Virginia doctors. Caudle he got out the file and showed Senator there was no attempt to send it out for prosecution. But, Caudle said, he later learned when the grand old West Virginia failed to indict, doctor.

He said he checked up and out that the U. S. attorney, usually presenting the case to Congress, apparently had as both "prosecutor and attorney." Caudle said he heard Kilgore had something with getting the case stopped. Caudle said Langer intervened in a "very nice" North Dakota case, not further back, before the man was released.

(Continued on page 6, col. 1.)

DAILY ALMANAC

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1952
(U. S. Weather Bureau Forecast)

Clear; some haze.

Fair.

Forecast, probably to temperature range, 70-75. Tomorrow, clear and cool.

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FACT ENDS STRIKE OF CENTRAL

By PAUL HEALY

Washington, D. C., Sept. 19.—The Central Postal Directory strike ended today as the union of postal workers agreed to a new contract.

The strike, which had lasted for 10 days, ended as the union of postal workers agreed to a new contract.

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page 6.” On the page referred to, there were four headlines with the word “Nixon” in them, topped by a three-column headline saying: NIXON TO KEEP ON HITTING GRAFT DESPITE POLITICAL FUND STORY. Below it was a picture of the California senator with a grim look and holding a clenched fist aloft. Stevenson got a picture in the adjacent columns with a headline: ADLAI CALLS ON GOP TO PROBE NIXON FUND. The last five paragraphs of the story told of Stevenson’s itinerary in New York City where he was staying for a few days. There were no quotes from Stevenson in the story except for the ones on Nixon, despite the fact that the Democratic candidate had spent the day making speeches in the area.

The Sunday *News* chose to tell its 3,947,000 readers on the front page: IKE WITHHOLDS ACTION ON NIXON—despite the fact that Eisenhower had been withholding action since Thursday. Story details were put on the second page. Most other papers were leading that day with the story the *News* headlined in smaller type on the second page: 78 GAVE 18G TO NIXON FUND. On the same page were two articles that balanced each other; one was about a Nixon defense fund being started and the other was about some newspapers that disapproved editorially of Nixon’s fund.

Each party was given a whole page the next day. The Republicans took over the second page and the Democrats covered the third page. It was the only day during the period of this study when there was such equal treatment in the *News*.

Stevenson’s endorsement by the A.F.L. convention in New York City rated only one column the following day. The headline said: AFL OKAYS ADLAI WITH 6 UNIONS SILENT. At the same time, Nixon got a four-column headline with a picture and front-page headline saying: WON’T RESIGN, SAYS NIXON.

When Nixon got the backing of the Republican National Committee the next day, the paper gave the Republican candidate most of the first two pages, including two huge pictures. The only major Democratic headline was a double-column headline saying: STEVENSON WON’T DISCLOSE NAMES OF ILL. ANGELS.

During the several days that Stevenson was in the New York City area, “New York’s Picture Newspaper” gave the Republicans four times the space in photographs it gave the Democrats. The ratio was not as high in news display, but the GOP enjoyed an obvious edge nearly every day, regardless of the newsworthiness of the respective candidates. Rarely did Stevenson get more than a single or double-column headline, even when his own fund was hot news.

The paper with “the largest daily and Sunday circulation in Ameri-

ca" gave the largest daily and Sunday display to the party it favored editorially. Perhaps that is one reason why F. M. Flynn, president of the New York *News*, said later that a proposed survey of campaign coverage by newspapers was "almost certain to do more harm than good." He may have been thinking of the effect of such a survey on the readers of the *News*.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

1952 circulation	331,853 (22nd in U.S.)
1950 area population	12, 912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (567,298)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, New York Herald Tribune

A *Herald Tribune* editorial in 1952 explained: "When it comes to reporting the facts of a political campaign, every American newspaper is a two-party newspaper, reinforcing, and indeed making possible, the two-party system upon which our democracy rests."

If that reassuring note meant that there is no blackout of news of the political party the paper opposes editorially, such as is the case in Russia, then the statement is obviously true. But if it means fair and equal treatment of each party, it is far from true. All one needs to do is to look at the *Tribune's* own news columns.

The paper, long considered a leading editorial spokesman for the Republican party, met the first Nixon story without wincing. The *Tribune* gave it a double-column spot in the middle of the first page, as shown in the accompanying photograph. The headline said: NIXON CONFIRMS \$16,000 FUND TO HELP WITH SENATE EXPENSES. The wording seemed to accept at face value Nixon's explanation even before all the facts were in.

The Associated Press dispatch started out:

ABOARD NIXON CAMPAIGN TRAIN, Sept. 18—Sen. Richard M. Nixon said today he has used a \$16,000 fund collected by his California supporters to take care of expenses which he believes should not be charged to the government.

The Republican nominee for Vice-President issued a statement as his campaign train neared Merced on a trip through California's big valleys. He confirmed a published report on the fund and said it was taken up by "some of my supporters in the 1950 senatorial campaign."

In Washington, Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell said Sen. Nixon should resign as a candidate in view of the "revelation" that the Senator has been accepting donations.

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and on the day after a holiday.
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NEW YORK
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1952

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1952

Herald Tribune

Late City
Edition

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FIVE-CENT

Attacks On Police Add 30 Lures

Policewomen Hunt Assaults

Angry View of Use of Force; Funds for More Police

A New York Herald Tribune editorial today attacked the police for their handling of a recent riot in the East Village, and called for more police and better training.

Joseph H. Short Dies; Truman's Press Secretary

Clark Named By Candle in Justice Probe



Joseph H. Short, Truman's press secretary, died today.

Joseph H. Short, press secretary to President Truman, died today of a heart attack. He was 45 years old. Short had been in the White House for about a year. He was a member of the Truman administration's press corps.

Short was a member of the Truman administration's press corps. He was a member of the Truman administration's press corps. He was a member of the Truman administration's press corps.

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Short was a member of the Truman administration's press corps. He was a member of the Truman administration's press corps. He was a member of the Truman administration's press corps.

Connecticut Crowds Cheer Stevenson Eisenhower Pledges 'Honest Deal' Truman Rebutts General on Rail Strike



The Democratic President's campaign headquarters in New Haven, Conn., today.

Stevenson in Connecticut
Governor Hoffman in Tour of City

Stevenson in Connecticut
Governor Hoffman in Tour of City

Stevenson in Connecticut
Governor Hoffman in Tour of City

Stevenson in Connecticut
Governor Hoffman in Tour of City

Stevenson in Connecticut
Governor Hoffman in Tour of City

Ben-Curion Leads Majority in Knesset

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Ben-Curion Leads Majority in Knesset

U. S. Secret Greenlands

U. S. Secret Greenlands

U. S. Secret Greenlands

U. S. Secret Greenlands

Byrnes to Vote for Eisenhower

Byrnes to Vote for Eisenhower

Byrnes to Vote for Eisenhower

Byrnes to Vote for Eisenhower

The next part of the Associated Press dispatch that the *Tribune* used was Nixon's statement, which took up most of the rest of the front-page section of the story.

But the editors handling the dispatch eliminated some pertinent parts of the report. The next paragraph in the Associated Press dispatch, as used by other papers such as the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, was omitted by the *Tribune*. This paragraph quoted Mitchell as follows: "Senator Nixon knows that is morally wrong. General Eisenhower knows that this is morally wrong. The American people know that this is morally wrong. By no standards of public morals or of private morals can such conduct be condoned or explained away."

In the adjoining column on the front page was another apparent example of rearranging a news report to aid the Republican cause. A staff-written story by Bert Andrews about an Eisenhower speech in Omaha calling for an "honest deal" had this for its second paragraph: "A packed house of 18,000 greeted Gen. Eisenhower in the Ak-Sar-Ben Auditorium where, in 1948, President Truman, through a mixup in arrangements, spoke to so small an audience that the pictures of it caused gloom to Democrats."

Offsetting this Republican flavor to the news was a five-column headline and lead story about Stevenson in Connecticut, plus a four-column picture of Stevenson's crowd at New Haven. The same five-column headline also referred to Eisenhower and Truman stories on the front page: but it did not mention the Nixon fund.

For the rest of the period studied, the Republicans got the better of front-page display, although the margin was not large. The Nixon fund got top play among the political news stories until the Stevenson fund became known. Then the Stevenson story rated the biggest headlines.

Headlines were smaller, however, for the first Nixon stories than for the first Stevenson stories. While Nixon got only double-column headlines or less until his television broadcasts, the Democratic nominee for President was given an eight-column banner for his fund story. Following that came headlines of two, three, four, and eight columns.

In addition to favoring the Republicans in display of front-page news, the *Tribune* occasionally favored the Republicans in the selection of stories for the front page. During the ten days studied, there were nearly twice as many Republican stories on the front page as Democratic ones. And their headlines on the average were larger.

Tribune editors sometimes seemed to be stretching for stories that might help the Republican cause on page 1. Among the items of doubtful front-page merit were ones headlined: MRS. SPARKMAN GOT

\$6,501 in '51 AS CO-OWNER OF RADIO STATION, and one saying: BENTON GOT \$600 FROM BANKER TO SEND OUT SPEECH REPRINTS.

On the other hand, the paper reached for one story that few others used on the front page. It was headlined: NIXON FUND TRUSTEE HAD HELP OF NIXON EX-AID ON TAX CLAIM. It referred to the report on Smith first printed in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* (see page 59).

In the allotment of photographs on the front page, the Democrats got more space. This was perhaps largely because of the New York appearances of both Stevenson and Sparkman during the period.

For the most part, the *Tribune* treated the political news fairly and completely. But when it didn't, the advantage usually appeared to favor the Republicans.

NEW YORK TIMES

1952 circulation	503,999 (10th in U.S.)
1950 area population	12,912,000 (1st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Companion paper	Sunday (1,096,738)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News, New York Times

The New York *Times* is in a class by itself. Many newspapermen regard it as the most complete and the most unbiased paper in the world. When lists of great papers are drawn up, the *Times* usually is at the top.

The paper lives under two famous mottoes. One, printed daily in a front-page "ear," commits the paper to publish "All The News That's Fit to Print." The other, the paper's credo, is engraved in the lobby of the *Times* building: "To give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved."

The *Times* showed a high degree of objectivity in its treatment of the Nixon fund and contemporary political news. It gave the first fund report a two-column spot at the bottom of the first page, as shown in the photograph. The story by Gladwin Hill was a very factual account of the situation. For instance, he used quotation marks in the following sentence, where some other reporters would not have done so. Hill wrote of Nixon: "He said the money had been used for mailing and other political expenses for which some members of Congress drew official allowances, but which he felt 'should not be charged to the Federal Government.' " Note the slightly different tone of this passage if the quotation marks around the last few words are omitted.

The headline on the story said: NIXON AFFIRMS GETTING FUND OF \$16,000 FROM BACKERS. The lead story that day, as pictured in the accompanying photograph, carried the headline: STEVENSON RATES ETHICS IN POLITICS AHEAD OF VICTORY.

The page also illustrates some of the ways the *Times* tried to balance the campaign news. The paper rarely gave more than five columns of the front page to the campaign, usually all on one side of the page. Within this section, the paper let the Republicans and Democrats share the top spots almost evenly during the period studied. An exam-

ple of this balanced display is shown by the Stevenson and Eisenhower stories in equal spots on each side of the picture of Stevenson on the photographed page. Stories on Truman and Byrnes, opposite in their effect, also got similar headline display.

In addition to the apparent balanced display, the paper also alternated lead spots and pictures from one day to another so that the over-all effect was to balance the news display. This policy was demonstrated on two days of this study when the paper printed pictures of each candidate side by side. It was also shown during the first days of the Nixon fund. The photographed page shows a large Stevenson picture, but the Republicans got the play pictorially the next two days. Some would consider the brow-mopping picture of the Democratic candidate as detrimental to him because of its over-all significance in his struggle for election. But it is a question whether such pictures react favorably or unfavorably for the candidate pictured.

Another way the *Times* tried to treat the candidates equally was in the large headlines. When one candidate deserved a multi-column headline, the *Times* usually gave one of the lines of the headline to the opposing candidate, even though news about him was not necessarily equal in importance. At the height of the Nixon affair, Stevenson was given part of the large headlines. For example, one four-column headline carried three lines that said: NIXON'S FUND \$18,235, DONATED BY 76; HE INDICATES HE WILL NOT WITHDRAW; STEVENSON, IN SOUTH, FOR RIGHTS PLANK. Even the five-column type after Nixon's television appeal gave Stevenson one line: NIXON LEAVES FATE TO GOP CHIEFS; EISENHOWER CALLS HIM TO A TALK; STEVENSON MAPS INFLATION CURBS.

In its attempt to be neutral, the *Times* often bordered on the dull side. Instead of quoting Eisenhower's opinion that Nixon was an "honest man," the *Times* preferred simply: EISENHOWER DEFENDS NIXON. On the next line, instead of saying what many other papers did, "Nixon to Clear Self," the *Times* said: REPORT ON FUND PROMISED. Instead of "Nixon Pledging Full Story on Finances," the *Times* said: NIXON TO EXPLAIN ON AIR TONIGHT. Instead of "Truman Orders Probe on Nixon Fund," the *Times* said of the U. S. Attorney General: MCGRANERY STUDIES LAW ON FUNDS.

Stevenson's first fund story got nearly the same front-page spot Nixon had received. The headline said: SUBSIDY FOR AIDES CHARGED; EASES SACRIFICE, SAYS STEVENSON. His fund got top play on three of the next five days.

The *Times* has its critics, and sometimes they have a point. But there was not much to criticize in the paper's front page treatment of the campaign news during the period studied.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

1952 circulation	643,985 (6th in U.S.)
1950 area population	3,671,000 (4th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (1,124,787)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News, International News Service, New York Herald Tribune

The Philadelphia *Inquirer*, which calls itself "An Independent Newspaper for All the People," reported after the 1952 election that a survey of news space showed that the paper had reported the campaign "fully and impartially." It said a tally of news space showed 764 column inches for the Democrats and 737 for the Republicans.

Those figures, however, told only part of the story. They did not show, for instance, that the *Inquirer* kept the Nixon fund off the front page of its issue of record until the second day after the news broke. And those figures did not show what the paper did with the first fund story.

Readers skimming through Friday's paper might have missed the first news of the Nixon fund on the second page. For its headline said little about the nature of the fund controversy. It said simply: FRIENDS' GIFTS TO NIXON DRAW DEMANDS.

It wasn't until the next day, Saturday, that the story hit the front page with a four-column headline saying: NIXON'S EXPLANATION OF FUND ACCEPTED BY EISENHOWER; PUBLIC TO GET ACCOUNTING. The only Stevenson story on the page was one headlined: STEVENSON BARS UNFAIR JUDGMENT, in which the Democratic nominee said "condemnation [of Nixon] without all the evidence would be wrong."

During the rest of the life of the Nixon-fund story, the *Inquirer* showed little favoritism in the tone of the news. Most of the partisanship seemed to be in the selection and display of front-page items.

Monday's paper told of Nixon's desire to give an accounting of his expenses. On the same page was a prominent piece headlined: POLITICAL FUND CALLED 'MUST' by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. Underneath the latter story was one headlined: MITCHELL REFUSES TO DROP DEMAND NIXON WITHDRAW. The use of the word "refuses" might imply that Mitchell was going too far in his request. It may have been an

unintentionally poor choice in wording the headline, but the effect is to cast Mitchell in an unfavorable light.

On the day after Nixon's television appeal, the paper helped the Republican cause by printing, in a box near the top of the page, the address for sending views on Nixon to Republican headquarters. At the same time, the paper printed the story about Smith's alleged intervention in a tax case under a headline saying: NIXON OFFICE LINKED TO TAX CASE.

The next day, the day of Nixon's tearful meeting with Eisenhower, the *Inquirer* spread the story over most of the first page. In addition, there was a huge photograph of the two candidates and an article headlined: FUND DONORS KEPT SECRET BY STEVENSON. The paper was a day late getting the Stevenson story onto the front page.

The next day, the paper gave the Stevenson story all it could, with one of the biggest headlines of the campaign saying: STEVENSON FORCED TO AIR SECRET FUND; GOVERNOR TIED TO SPLIT OF \$100,000. The use of the word "force" may have been a slightly stronger word than necessary here. Accompanying this article on Stevenson's fund was a large cartoon on political funds in general and a story headlined: NIXON DEMANDS STEVENSON BARE 'FACTS' AS HE DID.

During the period under study, there were three front-page photographs of the top candidates, all Republican. One showed Nixon and his wife, the second showed Eisenhower, and the third showed Nixon and Eisenhower meeting after Nixon's television speech.

The *Inquirer's* survey of news space showed that during the campaign, the Democrats got more space than the Republicans. But during the period of this study the Republicans got better treatment in the more important aspects of selection, display, and tone of the news.

PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE

1952 circulation	269,074 (32nd in U.S.)
1950 area population	2,213,000 (8th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	Block
Companion paper	None (no Sunday edition)
Wire services	Associated Press, New York Herald Tribune

The *Post-Gazette*, which calls itself "one of America's great newspapers," did not waste time getting the Nixon-fund story onto the front page. On Friday morning it gave the story a two-column headline, as illustrated in the photograph, saying: NIXON SAYS GIFTS HELP DEFRAY HIS SENATE EXPENSES.

Stories on Stevenson and Eisenhower were equally balanced around the Nixon story. Governor Byrnes's switch to Eisenhower also rated a single-column headline. All campaign reports on the page were factual accounts from the Associated Press.

The *Post-Gazette* showed little favoritism in the news columns, but it ran frequent front-page editorial cartoons. On Monday the cartoon showed Nixon with Truman in a "mess," and the following day Senator Taft was depicted as a shepherd leading Eisenhower around like a lamb.

As the fund story unfolded, the Pittsburgh link in the Block newspaper chain gave the story eight-column headlines on its front page nearly every day. But it usually managed to give Stevenson and Eisenhower a place on the page, too.

After Nixon's television speech, the paper helped readers who wanted to wire their views to Republican headquarters. The address of the Republican committee was listed. When Nixon and Eisenhower met in Wheeling, West Virginia, the *Post-Gazette* gave the event a banner proclaiming: NIXON WILL STAY ON TICKET; HIS HONESTY HAILED BY IKE. Some editors might have put quotation marks around the word "honesty" in order not to put the paper in the apparent position of accepting any one candidate's partisan claims.

A color story on the meeting of the two candidates went slightly beyond straight reporting with the use of the phrase "rousing, triple-barreled welcome" and another calling the occasion "one of the most dramatic occasions in American political history." It could be argued,

however, that such wording was within the bounds of objective description of an admittedly dramatic event.

The paper did not overplay the Stevenson-fund story. The first time it gave the event prominent display was when Stevenson admitted having a fund. The headline read: ADLAI WON'T TELL WHO GOT 'GIFTS!' For each of the three days that the story appeared on the front page, it got no more than a single-column headline.

The only major campaign photograph during this period was a three-column picture of Eisenhower and Nixon meeting in Wheeling.

Judging from this study, the *Post-Gazette* presented the political news with little apparent bias. On most days, the only partisan note on the front page was the editorial cartoon. These drawings seemed to be more often anti-Democratic than anti-Republican, but there were some on each side of the political fence. It could be argued, however, that cartoons for either side on the front page tend to destroy the objectivity of the page where most readers expect to find the main news of the day. Much depends on the frequency and tone of the cartoons. An occasional non-partisan cartoon might not weaken a newspaper's objectivity on the front page. But a steady diet of them, regardless of their tone, makes them become an editorial feature. And if this is the case, they should be kept on the editorial page.

The *Post-Gazette*, according to an advertisement in a trade magazine, "puts the public welfare above any special interest. It cannot, therefore, be the instrument of any group or sect or political party. In its news columns, the *Post Gazette* strives to be accurate, thorough and impartial."

This study shows that the *Post-Gazette* comes very close to living up to its high ideals.

PORTLAND OREGONIAN

1952 circulation	225,421 (37th in U.S.)
1950 area population	705,000 (21st in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (283,744)
Wire services	Associated Press, Chicago Daily News, International News Service, Chicago Tribune-New York News

The *Oregonian*, the largest daily in the northwestern part of the country, wasted no time in getting the Nixon fund onto the front page. As shown in the photograph, the headline took up only a single column, but it did not gloss over the details: GIFT TAKING PUTS NIXON UNDER FIRE.

The paper also chose to use an Associated Press story with a stronger Democratic flavor than many other papers used. Democratic chairman Mitchell was quoted at length in the first three paragraphs. The story started with his demand that Nixon resign as the nominee for vice president. It went on with statements by the Democratic party chief that the affair was "morally wrong," before swinging into statements by Nixon and his fund chairman Smith.

For five of the next six days, the Nixon fund captured top play among campaign news on the front page, but the paper took pains not to defend Nixon in its wording of headlines. There was a certain neutrality of tone to many of them. One read: NIXON BREAKS OFF CAMPAIGN SWING; a second: NIXON FLIES SOUTH TO AIR FUND DATA; and a third: NIXON SUBMITS FATE TO GOP COMMITTEE.

During the first seven days of the Nixon-fund story, only two major headlines were given to the Democratic candidate for President. One of these is shown at the bottom of the photographed page: STEVENSON HITS EISENHOWER FOR INDORSEMENT OF JENNER. The other, which came later, described the candidate's A.F.L. speech.

The *Oregonian* seemed a little slow getting the Stevenson fund onto the front page. The paper did not feature it until two days after the fund hit the news. The first front-page headline covered a three-column spot and said: SPECIAL FUND DONORS KEPT SECRET BY ADLAI.

In contrast to the usual bland style of headline writing found in the *Oregonian* was the headline which led the paper the next day: TELL ALL, ADLAI DARED; STEVENSON WILL REPLY, CAMPAIGN HEAD SAYS. The head-

line on the same day in the *New York Times* said: STEVENSON DECIDES TO BREAK SILENCE ON FUND.

Stevenson's defense of his fund the next day was knocked out of the leading spot on the page by the account of Eisenhower escaping unhurt when a ramp fell in Richmond. But Democrats returned to the lead the next day with a page-wide banner reading: STEVENSON GIVES DETAILS OF GIFT FUND.

In the matter of photographs during the period, the Republicans received nearly four times the front-page space given to the Democrats.

But there was little apparent favoritism in the display of the major news events. Typical of the balanced display given both parties are the Morse and Byrnes stories shown at the left of the photographed page. If any favoritism was apparent in the *Oregonian*, it came in the selection of stories of secondary importance for front-page treatment. In this category, there seemed to be an advantage for the Republicans. But this advantage was relatively small compared to that of other papers in this survey.

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

1952 circulation	296,991 (27th in U.S.)
1950 area population	1,681,000 (9th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (352,103)
Wire services	Associated Press, Chicago Tribune-New York News, New York Times

The *Globe-Democrat*, the only morning paper in the ninth largest metropolitan area, did not conceal its political affections in its news columns.

The paper omitted the Nixon fund entirely from its Friday issue of record. By the time it got around to using the story on Saturday, the paper was crowded with news about Eisenhower's visit to St. Louis. The accompanying photograph shows how the *Globe-Democrat* showed its feelings that day.

An eight-column banner proclaimed: EISENHOWER ARRIVES HERE TODAY. The next line introduced *Globe-Democrat* readers to the Nixon affair with the line: IKE PUTS TRUST IN NIXON, STEVENSON WITHHOLDS CRITICISM. Between the Stevenson and Eisenhower stories was an editorial, four columns wide, welcoming the general to St. Louis. The caption read: ST. LOUIS WELCOMES A GREAT CITIZEN. The editorial, plainly labeled as such, was a glowing tribute to the general and a partisan dig at the Truman administration.

The rest of the page, except for about two columns, was filled with pro-Republican articles. Among them were a statement by Taft backing the idea of a fund for senators; the text of Eisenhower's statement on Nixon; and an article saying that Senator William Knowland of California expected the Nixon case "to be overcome." There also was an article quoting a Republican woman leader as saying that women hold the key to elections; and a schedule of events for Eisenhower's stay in St. Louis. Stevenson was given an article nearly a column and a half long by a staff writer. A story on Eisenhower's speech at Kansas City, Missouri, got a one-column headline: EISENHOWER LASHES OUT AT BOSSES.

Only one sentence on the entire front page could be considered unfavorable to the Republican cause. That was the fourth paragraph of the main story by Jack Bell of the Associated Press. He quoted Mit-

chell as saying that the fund was "morally wrong" and that Eisenhower must order Nixon to quit the ticket or "sacrifice principles." Except for a reference in the previous paragraph to the original disclosure, there was nothing else on the page to fill in *Globe-Democrat* readers on the Nixon affair except from the Republican point of view.

The tone of the next day's front page was nearly as favorable to the Republican cause. The paper added a large editorial cartoon to give the Republicans an extra boost. The drawing, appearing at the time the Nixon furor was nearing its peak, showed President Truman as the one in the "mess." Republicans got all but one campaign story on the page. One story was headlined: IKE INTERRUPTED 50 TIMES WITH APPLAUSE.

The next day, the banner headline said: IKE HEADS FOR OHIO, FACES BIG TESTS. There was a two-column drop: NIXON WILL REVEAL PERSONAL FINANCES. There was a large picture of the general and a two-column account of his attending church. There was a single-column item telling how local leaders cited "gains" from Eisenhower's visit. An article at the bottom said: NIXON'S CASE SAME AS MANY DEMOCRATS. Stevenson rated a two-column headline for his forthcoming address to the A.F.L.

The first word readers got of Stevenson's fund came in a two-column headline under a picture of Nixon. The headline said: HIS FUND NO SECRET, STEVENSON DECLARES.

Republicans got eight-column banner headlines across the top of the front page for eight straight days, even during the first few days of the Stevenson fund. Republicans also did well in photographic display. During the ten days, they made a clean sweep of major campaign pictures on the front page.

The Republicans were heavily favored in the news columns of the *Globe-Democrat* during the period studied.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

1952 circulation	153,205 (70th in U.S.)
1950 area population	2,241,000 (7th in U.S.)
Called itself politically	Independent-Republican
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	Sunday (259,229)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, New York Herald Tribune

After the 1952 election, San Francisco's "only home-owned newspaper" reported that a measurement of news and picture space showed no bias in campaign coverage, even though the column inches favored the Republicans by a margin of 5,545 to 4,211. The tape measure, however, failed to tell the complete story.

The *Chronicle*, often considered the least partisan newspaper in San Francisco, gave the Republicans better headline display than the Democrats almost every day during the period studied. The first time Stevenson rated top play among the campaign headlines was a week after the Nixon fund broke into the news.

One of the fairer displays on the *Chronicle's* front page is shown in the photographed page of Friday's "final" edition. Four columns of campaign developments were topped by the headline: **IKE OFFERS THE PEOPLE 'AN HONEST DEAL'—NIXON 'EXPENSE FUND' IS REVEALED.** The four-column campaign section of the front page included two not mentioned in the headline, one on Stevenson's speech and the other on Byrnes's switch from the Democratic nominee to Eisenhower. The campaign stories appeared to give a fair distribution of space on the front page.

But a closer look at the Nixon story shows a tendency in the story to benefit the Republican candidate to the point of excluding anything but favorable references. The United Press dispatch that the *Chronicle* chose to use was made up almost entirely of explanations of the fund by Nixon and Smith. Only one of the nineteen paragraphs on the first page even mentioned Mitchell's demand that Nixon resign. There were no quotations from Mitchell.

The story about Eisenhower in the next column was also written to give any benefit of the doubt to the general. The article by *Chronicle* staffer Vance Johnson referred to what he called Eisenhower's "slash-

ing attacks against 'boodlers' in Washington." And Johnson also concluded that the general was "radiating confidence."

On the next day, Saturday, the Nixon matter got eight columns worth of headlines at the top, plus three of the four campaign stories on the first page. The fourth story was headlined: ADLAI, TOO, SAYS GET ALL FACTS. The Democratic candidate also got one out of four stories for the next two days, beneath huge headlines on Eisenhower's praise for his running mate.

Monday's front-page headlines included one predicting: NIXON TO TELL EVERY DOLLAR. A headline on a Stevenson story said simply: ADLAI WORKS ON TALK. The next day, the Democratic nominee rated the second line of a four-column spread for his big reception at the A.F.L. convention. His fund showed up in a single column under the lines: ADLAI EXPLAINS FUND USED FOR APPOINTEES.

Following Nixon's dramatic television plea, the *Chronicle* made its feelings clear. A large top headline proclaimed: IKE PRAISES NIXON—THEY WILL MEET TO SETTLE IT. Beneath that were a photograph and headline, both spreading across half of the page. Smaller stories included one headlined: PRO-NIXON MESSAGES DELUGE. GOP. Stevenson's program against inflation hung onto a two-column headline.

After Eisenhower and Nixon met the following day, the *Chronicle* almost wept typographically with a gigantic line of heavy type covering most of the top half of the page: 'YOU'RE MY BOY' IKE TELLS NIXON. The subheadline said: GENERAL CONDEMNNS 'UNFAIR, VICIOUS ATTACK' ON RUNNING MATE—SAYS HE'S FULLY VINDICATED.

A two-column chunk in the center of the page was devoted to strongly worded praise for Eisenhower and Nixon entitled: TWO MEN OF COURAGE. It was not labeled as an editorial, but it read very much like one with its praise for both Republican candidates; it made the position of the paper clear for the benefit of front-page readers who did not already know. Stevenson's fund got a two-column headline below this article: ADLAI TELLS WHY HE WON'T LIST RECIPIENTS.

In the next day's four-column campaign section, the Democratic nominee made the top line of the headline for the first time in the period studied, but the message did not boost his stock. It said: ADLAI WILL TELL MORE ABOUT HIS FUND. The second line announced: SEN. NIXON GIVES 'EM HELL, GOP STYLE.

Stevenson got another four-column line the next day saying: ADLAI TO LIST DONORS, RECIPIENTS. A line above it reported: IKE GETS MIGHTY OVATION IN VIRGINIA. The use of the word "mighty" is a debatable way to say "big."

The *Chronicle's* managing editor, Larry Fanning, reported to *Editor*

& *Publisher* after the election that the paper had made greater attempts to provide fair coverage than ever before. Yet he said protests had been more numerous than any in his experience. Apparently the readers of the *Chronicle* saw better than Fanning did where the paper could provide fairer coverage than it did.

IV. WERE THE PAPERS BIASED?

Speaking of the charges of newspaper bias in 1952, Barry Bingham of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* said: "We cannot dismiss those public doubts as ignorant or misguided."

On the basis of this study, we cannot indeed. The record written by some of the thirty-one papers reviewed here is clear evidence that we cannot dismiss the charges of bias. In fact, judging from this small glimpse of total political news coverage, criticism has been for the most part rather restrained. Stevenson, as one of the chief critics of the "one-party press" in 1952, did not even mention the news distortion that he himself, as a former newspaperman, must have recognized. Republicans have had even less to say about the highly partisan way some pro-Democratic papers have handled the news.

In summarizing the selection and display of the news in these thirty-one papers, evening papers will be discussed first. Appraisal of the tone of the news will be given in the general comments.

Evening Papers

Any review of the way thirteen evening papers displayed the Nixon story makes it clear that editors were in no hurry to get the news into the paper. They were even less enthusiastic about getting it onto the front page.

Of the thirteen evening papers studied, only four put the story on the front page at the first opportunity on Thursday afternoon. Yet all but one of the papers, the Chicago *Herald-American*, had the first report by United Press service, and some of them also had Edson's column well in advance.

The four papers using the report on the front page included only one pro-Eisenhower paper, the Chicago *Daily News*, which spotted the newsworthiness of Edson's column and played it up with a three-column headline on the first page. The other three papers giving the story front-page treatment were the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Milwaukee *Journal*, and New York *Post*—all pro-Stevenson.

Three other evening papers used the story the first day but buried it inside the paper. The New York *World-Telegram and Sun* put Edson's account on page 23 in the editorial section. The Detroit *News* squeezed the United Press dispatch into a narrow spot above a large adver-

tisement on page 9. And the Buffalo *Evening News* found a place for Edson's piece on page 51 in the classified-ad section.

Five evening papers apparently did not use the Nixon story in their editions of record until the next day. These papers were the Chicago *Herald American*, Chicago *Sun-Times*, Philadelphia *Bulletin*, Minneapolis *Star*, and Kansas City *Star*. One paper, the New York *Journal American*, could not find room on the front page for the story until Sunday, the fourth day the news was available.

Criticism should not be too harsh, however, with evening papers that hesitated to play up the first report. When such a sensational news event occurs, it is often considered wise newspaper practice for editors to proceed cautiously in case the charges are not confirmed. In this case, the United Press version of the New York *Post* report quoted Nixon's fund chairman Smith. Edson quoted Nixon, but the wire services did not get a confirmation from Nixon until too late for evening papers.

In contrast to the delay on the Nixon-fund was the treatment given the first Stevenson-fund story. Every evening paper studied used Stevenson's admission of a fund on the front page Tuesday. Seven papers had also carried the first hint of a Stevenson fund on their first pages the previous day. (This first report was about Chicago newspapers checking into reports that Stevenson had a fund.)

Nine of the thirteen evening papers also front-paged the story about the government probe of political funds. Seven of these nine led with the story.

But when the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* report of Smith's interest in a tax refund case was put on the wire, only four other papers used it on the front page of their editions of record. They were the pro-Stevenson Milwaukee *Journal* and the pro-Eisenhower Chicago *Sun-Times*, Buffalo *News*, and New York *World-Telegram and Sun*.

Morning Papers

Of the eighteen morning papers studied—all pro-Eisenhower on their editorial pages—only eight allowed the Nixon affair on the front page of Friday editions of record. Of these eight, only two gave it more than a double-column headline—the Baltimore *Sun* (eight columns) and the San Francisco *Chronicle* (four columns). The small size of headlines may have been due partly to the greater importance of local events. In San Francisco, for example, the *Chronicle* led with a story on the extension of rent controls in the city. In Pittsburgh, a coal strike took top play.

Of the remaining ten morning papers, seven used the story some-

where in their editions of record on Friday. But three omitted it entirely from editions studied. These were the New York *Daily Mirror*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, and Boston *Daily Record*. By Saturday, all morning papers had the story on the front page except the Los Angeles *Times*, which held off until Sunday.

Many of the morning papers were reluctant to give the story more than token display even on the second and third day after it became news. Headlines were mostly single- or double-column.

Sharply contrasting with the display of the first Nixon-fund stories was the treatment given the first Stevenson-fund reports in morning papers. The Chicago *Tribune* was the first paper in this study to hint of a private fund for Stevenson; it did so on the third page of its Sunday paper. The story was apparently not solid enough for the front page or to get picked up by other papers.

Stevenson's admission that he had a fund came in time for some late editions of Monday-evening papers. By Tuesday, thirteen of the eighteen morning papers carried a separate story on the first page. The only morning papers not using it on their front pages were the New York *Herald Tribune*, Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Portland *Oregonian*, and Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*.

The next day's handling of the Smith tax story showed a different picture. Only two of the eighteen morning papers studied gave it a separate story on the front page—the New York *Herald Tribune* and Philadelphia *Inquirer*.

General Comments

In some cases, of course, it may have been purely a difference in news judgment that led editors to handle the story the way they did. A variety of opinion is common among editors on stories of lesser importance.

But it is rare on a major news event to have the variety that greeted the Nixon fund and other stories of the period. For one thing, a lot of the guesswork has been taken out of the job of the selection and display of stories on the front page. The wire services usually furnish their clients regularly with a list of expected front-page stories. And they also frequently report the front-page display of leading papers such as the New York *Times* and St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. In addition, most daily newspaper editors recognize hot news when they see it.

As this study shows, however, display is not the whole picture. Perfectly balanced display between Republican and Democratic stories did not automatically bring fairness; this is because the newsworthiness of candidates is probably never really the same. Further-

more equal display does not guarantee that stories will be written fairly in every respect. A graphic illustration of this latter point was shown in the photographed page of the Baltimore *Sun*. The balanced arrangement of stories did not prevent one writer from making an unnecessary reference reflecting against the Democrats early in his story.

Many of the first Nixon-fund stories showed favoritism in the wording and arrangement of the items in the story. Some were so weighted down by explanatory and laudatory statements from the Republicans that almost no mention was made of the original revelations or reactions of Democrats. It was natural for second-day stories to lead with Nixon's defense. But papers giving their readers the first glimpse of the story should have included more than just three or four words to describe the cause for all the disturbance.

The result was that readers of some papers got such a one-sided picture from the first few stories that they might have wondered what all the defensive statements were about. Thus the first headline to greet readers of the record edition of the Chicago *Herald American* was: NIXON DEFENDED BY EISENHOWER. The natural reaction of readers might be "Why not?" as they passed on to another story.

The only reaction from the Democrats that was given any real prominence in the papers was Stevenson's advice not to judge Nixon until the full facts were in.

Partisanship showed up in headlines as well as stories. And much of it was very subtle as well as insidious. There was no limit to the variety of twists in a headline. There were "dead heads" — heads that did not say as much as they could have — like the New York *Times*'s STEVENSON POISED FOR TOUR OF EAST and the Kansas City *Star*'s FIRM ON RIGHTS. Then there were "pointed heads" such as the Des Moines *Register*'s declaration CORRUPTION IN STATE NOTHING NEW TO ADLAI. There were "verdict heads" like NIXON CLEARED in the Minneapolis *Star*. There were "funny heads" such as the New York *World-Telegram*'s STEVENSON IS HAM WITHOUT CORN DRESSING and the New York *Post*'s DICK'S OWN WELFARE STATE. There were "unqualified heads" such as the Detroit *Free Press*'s NIXON SMEAR TRY BLASTED and the Philadelphia *Inquirer*'s BUNGLED BILLIONS: U.S. AID POLICY FALLS SHORT. And, of course, there were plenty of missing heads — ones that should have been on the front page but were not. A word should be said here in defense of news and headline writers. They are constantly badgered by shortages of time and space. They are often kept from doing as well as they wish by the pressure to

get news into type with the utmost speed. Headline writers are further restricted by the often ridiculous narrowness of headline space. In view of these and other obstacles, it is amazing that newspapermen do as well as they do.

Some papers that showed little favoritism in headlines and stories hurt their record by a free use of editorial opinion on the paper's main news page. Half a dozen papers, mostly in the Midwest, allowed highly partisan cartoons on the front page. And several papers put strongly worded editorials and columns on the front page without clearly labeling them as opinion pieces in contrast to news stories. Not all editors condemn such practice. But many of them believe it takes unfair advantage of the reader who expects to read news, not opinions, on the front page. These editors feel that the front page is small enough for the important news without trying to fill it up with opinion, whether or not it is labeled as such.

In recent years, many partisan pleas have appeared in the news columns in the guise of "interpretive" articles or "think pieces." Editors argue that in this day of increasing complexities of life there is a growing need to explain what the news means to the reader. The trouble has come in trying to keep opinion separate from interpretation. This trend toward interpretive material has unfortunately turned the yellow caution light back to green for many highly opinionated writers. The result has often been a mixture of facts, opinions, and interpretation that no one, least of all the writer, can unravel. An example was the front-page article in the *Kansas City Star* which looked like a news article but which included a matter-of-fact reference to the Nixon fund as a "smear."

In the matter of front-page pictures, nearly every paper studied gave more space to the candidate it supported on its editorial page. Some papers froze out the opposition completely from the front page. Photographic partisanship was most evident in the selection and display of candidates' pictures. There was also some apparent attempt to play up pictures that worked against a candidate by showing him in an unfavorable pose instead of a more favorable one that was available; but these cases were rare and hard to pinpoint.

In adding up this study of political bias, three general conclusions seem to stand out:

† The first is that, with the possible exception of the *New York Times*, all papers — both Republican and Democratic — showed evidence of favoritism in their news columns in violation of their own accepted rules of conduct. Some might conclude that politics apparently won over principles in the battle of publishers with their

conscience. Only nine of the twenty-eight pro-Eisenhower papers put the Nixon story on the front page at the earliest opportunity; all three of the pro-Stevenson papers did so. And, from that point on, most papers continued to favor one party over the other in selection, display, and tone of the political news. Some of the examples of favoritism were indeed startling, such as the facsimile telegram printed by the New York *Journal American*.

The second general conclusion is that almost every example of favoritism in the news columns coincided with the paper's editorial feelings. Papers generally gave more stories and pictures, bigger headlines, better location on the page, and more favorable tone to news about the candidate they supported editorially. This finding lends new significance to the polls of editorial endorsements of candidates. It tends to support the hitherto unclarified assumption by many critics of the press that papers Republican or Democratic on their editorial page are correspondingly Republican or Democratic in their treatment of the news. On the basis of the 1952 editorial endorsements of candidates, that would indicate that over 80 per cent of the nation's newspaper readers may be getting their news as well as editorials with some Republican flavoring.

The third general conclusion concerns the methods of evaluating newspaper bias. In short, this study shows that much evaluation of newspaper fairness can be done without having to translate everything into column inches. The mere comparison of papers brings a certain amount of automatic evaluation by showing what different papers did with the same wire dispatches. This also tends to avoid arbitrary standards of judgment.

The results of this study as a whole, then, seem to lend considerable support to the critics' charges of news bias. Yet it does not provide a precise way of measuring news distortion. That is a major unsolved problem facing those concerned with newspaper bias.

V. CAN BIAS BE MEASURED?

In view of the evidence in this study — and the evidence presented each day in the press — it should not be necessary to continue debating whether bias exists in the news. In reality, no newspaper can keep itself entirely “free from opinion or bias of any kind,” as the Canons of American Journalism prescribe.

The issue that does need debate — and continuing debate — is the question of how to measure bias and how to understand it. The lack of a satisfactory answer is one of the reasons newspapers don’t handle the news more fairly than they do. For there is no precise and generally accepted way to judge fairness of the press. Newspaper publishers have been relatively free to use any measurement system that suited their fancy. The result has been plenty of statistics but little proof one way or another. Still needed — and needed soon — is a method of evaluating newspaper bias that can be used with accuracy by both newspaperman and reader.

So far, we have not even come close to developing a method flexible enough to determine the various shapes and sizes of bias in the news. We can do little more than measure column inches and count stories and separate them according to political party. We seem to be still stumbling around the surface of the problem.

Even some newspapers men have resorted to the tape measure to back up their claims of fairness in news coverage. The San Francisco *Chronicle* was one paper that tried this in 1952; we have already seen how inadequate the results were in judging the total performance of the *Chronicle*. Its tabulation of column inches did not calculate the fairness of putting highly partisan editorials on the front page.

The Philadelphia *Bulletin* used another method, as described earlier in this book. The method was just as simple — and just as superficial — as the *Chronicle*’s tabulation of news space. The *Bulletin* counted up Democratic and Republican stories and pictures. But it, too, missed the basic point. For its system ignored the various tones of headlines such as the one on the photographed page which said: STEVENSON PLAYS TAFT ROLE TO HILT.

The professional researchers also have been stumped, though they agree with most newspaper men that fairness is more than a matter of column inches. These journalism experts have felt that there must

be a magic formula somewhere in the distance, and they have sallied forth valiantly in search of it. It is only after wading through countless "x" and "y" factors that they have found themselves falling back on the simplest methods as the most practical.

This failure to find a satisfactory way of measuring bias has stymied the persistent demands for a large-scale survey of newspaper performance. The move for a comprehensive survey got started in earnest in 1953 when *Editor & Publisher* announced editorially that it would contribute toward "an impartial, scientific" answer to the charge of bias in the newspapers. Other influential forces in the newspaper world soon joined the campaign. And eventually two of the leading newspaper organizations in the country took up the challenge. Groups in both Sigma Delta Chi, a professional journalism fraternity, and the American Society of Newspaper Editors decided to look into the feasibility of making a survey of newspaper fairness in the 1952 campaign.

While they were deliberating, the opposition was busy, too. It was led by two influential men from Missouri: Louis LaCoss, Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial-page editor of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, and Roy Roberts, president of the Kansas City *Star and Times*. Comments from these two men indicate what kind of obstacles lie along this road. LaCoss, whose paper virtually ignored the Nixon-fund story until it was nearly two days old, called the survey idea "snooping." Roberts labeled the proposal "tommyrot." He added: "It is the integrity, honor and character behind a newspaper which count." He did not indicate, however, how a newspaper attains such virtue by refusing to allow itself to be judged as it judges others.

Partly as a result of this kind of opposition, a nation-wide survey of the 1952 campaign never got off the ground. It fell victim to both publisher opposition and a lack of satisfactory survey method. The death blow came with the decision of both study committees that the idea was not practical. *Editor & Publisher* swung around to agree with the decision.

Since then, all attempts at a large-scale survey have failed to win the necessary newspaper support. The most ambitious plan was voted down by publishers in January, 1956. The proposed survey would have included about two hundred "representative" newspapers during the 1956 election campaign. Its estimated cost of \$650,000 was expected to be paid by one of the large foundations.

The survey was to have three main parts: an "audit" of news coverage, a poll of reader attitudes on bias, and a series of interviews with editors. How the "audit" was to measure newspaper fairness

was not explained in the prospectus, beyond a few general terms. Indications were that the study would rely heavily on simple measurements of news space and count of "biased statements."

As it turned out, it didn't make any difference what systems were to be used in studying bias. The plan to survey papers in 1956 was doomed before it was submitted to the publishers. Some of the backers of the idea blamed *Editor & Publisher* for killing what chance the plan had of success. Several weeks before the proposal was to be mailed out to publishers for their approval, the magazine printed its own poll of editors and publishers, which showed only five out of thirty-five in favor of the idea. When the researchers' proposal was made public a few weeks later, only nineteen out of sixty-four replies favored it without reservation.

Replies to both polls provide a fascinating view of the reactions of leading publishers. Their comments varied all the way from a request that a pilot study be made first to a suggestion that the proposed \$650,000 be given to the Red Cross.

Among those who put themselves on record before the details of the survey plan were distributed was William Randolph Hearst, Jr., head of the chain that comprises nearly one-tenth of the total circulation of American daily newspapers. He said he had no objection to the idea, "provided the survey is objective." Then he asked: "Who is to decide on that?" Hearst no doubt wanted to be sure of getting "objective" criticism of the use of his "Editor's Report" on the main news pages of Hearst Sunday papers, which have over one-sixth of the nation's Sunday newspaper circulation. As we have seen, one of Hearst's Sunday columns was headlined on the front page of the *Boston Advertiser* in 1952: TRUMAN RALLIES VOTES OF LABOR BY FEAR TACTICS. The headline accurately reflected the tone of the story.

One prominent newspaperman who criticized the survey idea before the details were made public was Jack R. Howard, president and general editorial manager of the Scripps-Howard chain, the second largest chain with daily circulation of three million. He said: "I can't see what useful purpose such a study will serve...In the last analysis, if you believe in democracy, who is a better judge of the newspapers in this country than the reader? I'm willing to accept his judgment and save the Ford Foundation \$650,000."

John S. Knight, head of a chain of newspapers with 1,300,000 daily circulation, also argued against a survey. His reply to the \$650,000 proposal was that "fairness in the reporting of political news cannot be accurately measured." He certainly had a point. How, for example, could one measure his *Chicago Daily News'*

omission from the front page of any major Stevenson story for four days in a row during the time of the Nixon fund? And how should that be compared to the enterprising front-page display the paper gave to the first report on the Nixon fund?

Pro-Republican newspapers were not the only ones to oppose the survey plan. J. Donald Ferguson, president of the pro-Democratic Milwaukee *Journal*, called the idea a waste of time and money. He said no survey would change the ways of editors and readers. Yet the *Journal* changed its own ways from time to time. For example, the cartoon that practically convicted Nixon of unethical political practice showed up under a headline reading: GET ALL THE FACTS BEFORE JUDGING NIXON, STEVENSON TELLS NATION.

There is no doubt that the publishers had some valid arguments in turning down the survey plan as impractical. But their rejection of the idea did not reduce the need for some sort of large-scale, comprehensive attack on the problem. While newspapermen were debating the merits of any survey, a corps of journalism professors launched a new wave of their own surveys in 1953.

Perhaps the largest, in the matter of circulation, was one made by Professor Nathan B. Blumberg of the University of Nebraska and later dean of Montana State University School of Journalism. The jacket of his book *One-Party Press?* said it was the "first significant study of press performance during a presidential campaign." His findings have been widely acclaimed since publication in 1954 as proof that the press did a good job with political news coverage in the 1952 campaign.

Blumberg tested thirty-five newspapers whose circulation accounted for 14 per cent of the national total. He measured news and photograph space and counted stories, photographs, and "multi-column headlines." But after adding up all the figures, he swept most of them away with some generalizations that were not backed up by his own statistics. For example, he found that, of the thirty-three papers taking an editorial stand for one of the presidential candidates, twenty-two gave more news space to the nominee they favored editorially. Yet he concluded that only six of the papers showed evidence of partiality in their news columns.

Thus far, no one has found an acceptable way to measure total bias in the news. Boston University Professor David M. White, one of the world's top journalism research experts, said in 1953: "No completely adequate methodology for determining newspaper bias has yet been developed."

No one has yet been able to penetrate beyond two elementary

truths that run through all attempts to measure newspaper bias. The first is that space factors are among the less important indications of bias; yet they are the only ones that can provide accurate figures to work with. The second is that the persons best qualified to evaluate newspaper fairness are newspapermen themselves; yet they are unwilling to do this.

What, then, should be the next step?

Perhaps the answer lies in a panel approach sponsored by one of the national newspaper organizations. A network of panels of working newspapermen might be set up in various sections of the country. Then these groups would meet at regular intervals for the purpose of judging newspaper objectivity on a limited number of key news stories. Members of these panels would then score each newspaper on the basis of selection, display, and tone of its news stories. Scores would be determined mainly by setting up certain criteria for each story and then comparing the actual article with the master list.

Such a system naturally could not be called impartial. To measure bias without adding some additional bias is impossible. This is not a field for split-second tabulations at the press of a button in an electronic brain. It is an area for the use of human brains. It is an area where subjective judgments must be included in any comprehensive analysis. And the persons best qualified to do this are newspapermen.

It may take some time before we arrive at a workable panel system. But prospects appear to be improving. At least, we have reached the point where an industry-wide survey of bias has been seriously considered by publishers. That is a giant step in the right direction.

If the subject stays in the public eye, newspaper readers will become more aware of the need to chew their news well before swallowing it. Continued public debate will also serve to keep newspaper editors and publishers on their toes and aware of their continuing responsibility to present the news fairly.

Furthermore, discussion of the problem will show how little we know about measuring newspaper performance. And it will emphasize the importance of finding out. For everyone has a stake in the matter. In the words of Barry Bingham:

"If those of us who hold the responsibility for the newspapers of America should fail in our mission, if we should make our readers run away from us in disgust and disillusionment, we would lose our press freedom one day. We would deserve to lose it. And it would not be just our loss. It would be a great and tragic loss to the whole American people. It would be a loss which democracy could hardly survive."

Appendix A

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

1952 circulation	168,224 (66th in U. S.)
1950 area population	2,370,000 (6th in U. S.)
Called itself politically	Independent
Editorially endorsed	Eisenhower
Chain affiliation	None
Companion paper	None (no Sunday edition)
Wire services	Associated Press, United Press, Reuters, Chicago Daily News

The *Christian Science Monitor*, "an international daily newspaper" published in Boston, occupies a peculiar niche in the journalistic world.

On the one hand, it is one of the nation's "ten best" papers on Bernays' list. And on the other hand, it can hardly even be called a newspaper in the usual sense of the term when you consider its church-directed policy of omitting almost all daily news of sin, sickness and death.

The *Monitor* has a truly international scope and circulation. It runs little news about the Boston area and derives little circulation there. Its main emphasis is on national and international news and features which are prepared by a highly skilled staff with a world-wide reputation for perceptive reporting.

When the first report on the Nixon fund arrived, the staff handled it cautiously as well as expeditiously. It put the United Press dispatch on page 13, a financial news page, under a two-column headline saying: NIXON IS REPORTED AIDED BY WEALTHY CALIFORNIANS.

The following day, as the accompanying photograph shows, the top headline read: EISENHOWER DEFENDS NIXON; STEVENSON JABS AT GOP AIDES, PUTS ATOM PEACE UP TO RUSSIA. The top part of the headline referred to three boldface paragraphs quoting the general's appraisal of his running mate as an "honest man."

There followed an earlier dispatch from the Eisenhower train by Roscoe Drummond, the paper's chief Washington correspondent. In his first sentence, Drummond used the words, "shocked and uncertain," to describe the reaction to the Nixon fund on the general's train. He then listed three courses of action he said the Republican nominee was "soberly, anxiously weighing." The first—the one the

general eventually followed—was to “try to ride out the embarrassment and the criticism which suddenly loom up in front of his anti-corruption crusade.” Notice—Drummond’s descriptive words appearing as accepted facts.

In Richard L. Strout’s report from the Stevenson train, appearing on the other side of the SENATOR’S EXPLANATION on the same page, the Democratic campaign was described in Strout’s lead sentence as “showing an extraordinary and increasing dualism.” Strout explained that “on one hand, it is dealing more in personal assaults . . . coupled with partisan, political quips and raillery. On the other hand, it is offering discussion of vital subjects of bipartisan interest, couched in a lofty tone which even many of his opponents would call eloquent.” The writer then got around to reporting what Stevenson said in his most recent speech. A wire dispatch on a later speech by Stevenson was headlined at the bottom of the page, WHICH SWALLOWED CANARY?

The next day, the big headline read: EISENHOWER STANDS BY RUNNING MATE; STEVENSON WAITS ALL FACTS ON NIXON. The subheadline read: ‘IKE’ CONTINUES BLAST AT CAPITAL CORRUPTION. Notice the *Monitor* practice of setting “Ike” off in quotes. In the Eisenhower piece, Drummond said the Nixon furor was “certainly not slowing down the general’s own furious attack on corruption and low morals in high places.”

The Stevenson story by the Associated Press was headlined simply: INFLUENCE? Another story on the Democratic candidate by Strout was headlined in large type: STEVENSON MINUS CROWDS. The writer said the Democratic turnouts “were disappointing” partly because of the bad weather and partly because of what he called “amateurish handling” of the campaign.

“Contrasted to this,” Strout continued, “the crowds attracted to the earnest evangelical zeal of Gen. Eisenhower are big.” The point to consider here is not so much whether Strout was right about the crowds but whether he was being accurate enough in describing Eisenhower’s effort as “earnest evangelical zeal.”

Strout declared that the Democrats were “making all sorts of mistakes.” The omission of Truman’s name in the Springfield speech (previously referred to in this book) was a “blunder particularly hard to explain,” according to Strout, even though Strout himself had explained it earlier as a move to make up for lost time after a storm had interrupted a speech.

When the first Stevenson-fund story arrived on Monday the

Monitor put it on the second page under a four-column line saying: PRESS DELVES INTO FUNDS FOR STEVENSON.

The next day, the paper led with: NIXON FUND AIDE TIED TO TAX CASE; STEVENSON POLITICAL FUND AIRED; EISENHOWER HITS TRUMAN 'FUMBLES.'

After Nixon's television speech, the biggest headlines said: NIXON SWEEPS TOWARD 'RENOMINATION'; TELEGRAMS OF SUPPORT DELUGE GOP. Republican stories and pictures covered nearly five full columns, but there was also room for two stories on Stevenson.

When Nixon and Eisenhower met the following day, the top headline said: REPUBLICANS SEE MAJOR VICTORY IN NIXON TILT. There also was a four-column picture of top Republicans and a story saying: STEVENSON FUND PUT AT \$100,000. The United Press story was based on a statement by an Illinois politician, William J. McKinney, who admitted the next day (as reported on the *Monitor's* front page) that he hadn't known how much money was involved when he first brought up the subject.

The *Monitor's* Joseph C. Harsch used the same style as other correspondents of the paper did. At one point, he said Stevenson's campaign had "got stuck in the 'college graduate' stratosphere." He added that "when it comes to stone-throwing contests down in the political arena, Mr. Truman is a qualified post graduate."

In the photographic department, Republicans were favored by a three-to-one ratio both in number and in size of pictures.

The *Monitor* ran no front-page cartoons or editorials as such. But it devoted much space to the personal appraisals of its correspondents on the political scene, so much so that spot news got comparatively little room on the front page. These somewhat free-wheeling interpretations of the news often gave readers franker, more comprehensive views of the situation than other papers gave. But they also occasionally let personal assumptions and opinions appear as facts in the paper's leading articles.

The *Monitor* thus let some noticeable bias slip into its handling of the political news as well as its specialized treatment of subjects like crime and medicine. But the political bias, whenever it did appear, cropped up mostly in the text of the story itself. In the paper's selection and display of political news, almost no bias was apparent in the scope of this study.

Appendix B—Circulation Table for 31 Papers

	Circulation in thousands	
	Daily	Sunday
Evening Newspapers		
Buffalo News	287	
Chicago Daily News	543	
Chicago Herald-American	504	819
Chicago Sun-Times	545	603
Detroit News	458	559
Kansas City Star	353	371
Milwaukee Journal	333	450
Minneapolis Star	290	616
New York Journal-American	653	983
New York Post	389	259
New York World-Telegram and Sun	541	
Philadelphia Evening Bulletin	693	680
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	391	452
Morning Newspapers		
Baltimore Sun	178	307
Boston Daily Record and Sunday Advertiser	381	565
Boston Post	302	244
Chicago Tribune	893	1,422
Cleveland Plain Dealer	303	510
Des Moines Register	225	533
Detroit Free Press	434	455
Indianapolis Star	197	278
Los Angeles Times	392	760
New York Daily Mirror	902	1,710
New York Daily News	2,180	3,947
New York Herald Tribune	332	567
New York Times	504	1,097
Philadelphia Inquirer	644	1,125
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette	269	
Portland Oregonian	225	284
St. Louis Globe-Democrat	297	352
San Francisco Chronicle	155	259
<hr/>		
Total for 31 papers in survey	14,793	20,267
Percentage of U. S. total	27%	42%

· ADD companion papers: Cleveland News (149),
 Kansas City Times (337), Los Angeles
 Mirror (213), Baltimore Evening Sun
 (196), Minneapolis Tribune (196), Des Moines
 Tribune (145), Indianapolis News (161) 1,397

ADD rest of chain circulation represented:

Block	238	165
Central (Pulliam)	186	423
Hearst	2,915	3,366
Knight	341	379
McCormick	261	298
Scripps-Howard	2,487	1,614

Total of 31 papers & affiliated ones	22,618	26,512
Percentage of U. S. total	42%	57%
Total U. S. daily & Sunday circulation	53,951	46,210

Compiled from *Editor and Publisher Yearbook*, 1953.

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